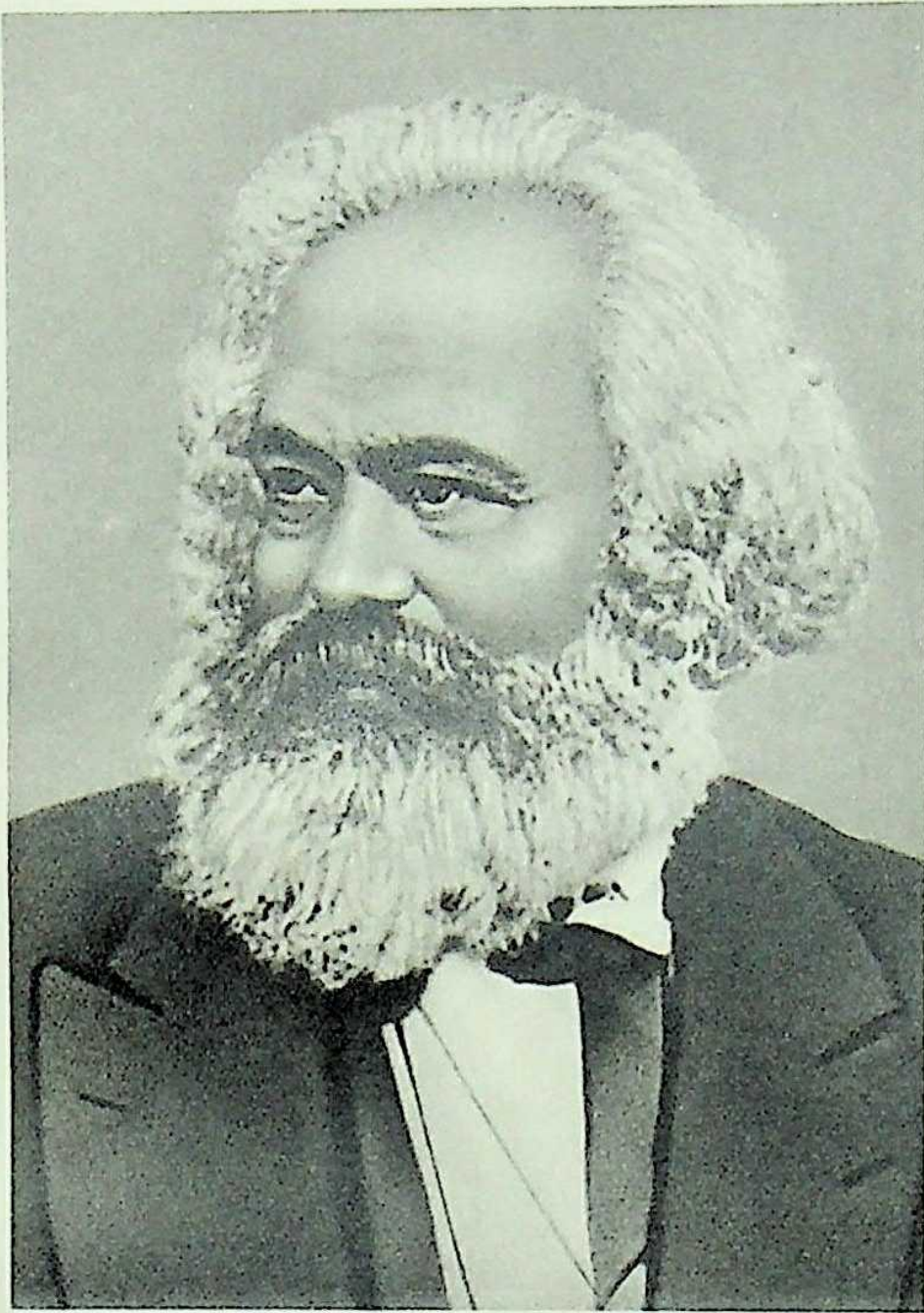


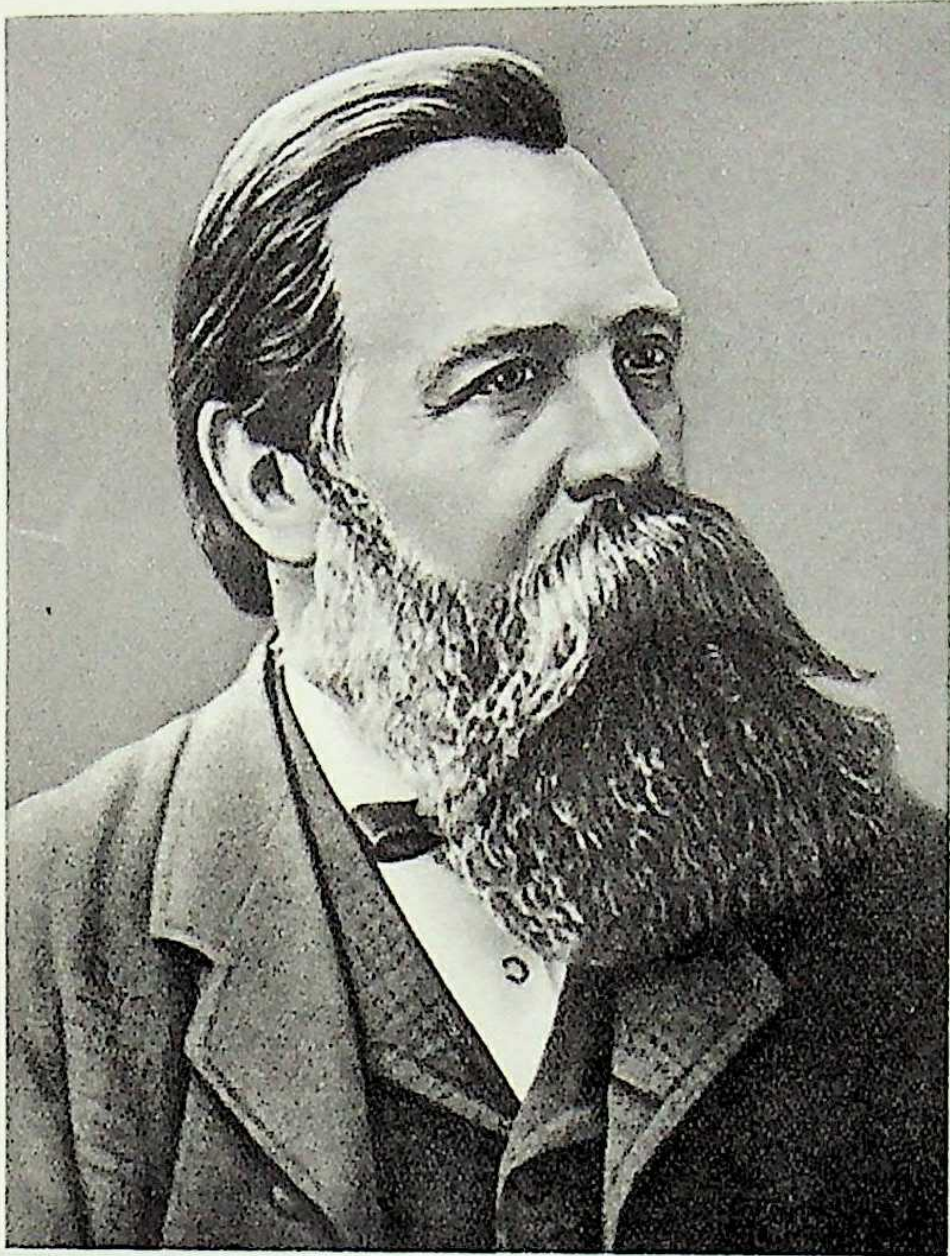
KARL MARX
FREDERICK ENGELS
SELECTED LETTERS

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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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Karl Marx



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KARL MARX
FREDERICK ENGELS

SELECTED LETTERS

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

First Edition 1977

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The present English edition of Marx and Engels' *Selected Letters* contains those included in the Chinese edition of the same book published by the People's Publishing House, Peking, in September 1973. All the letters or excerpts from letters in the booklet are reprinted from the text given in the existing English editions of Marx and Engels' works. Certain adjustments of translation and style have been made based on a check with the originals.

The footnotes and the notes at the end of the book are based on those given in the Chinese and previous English editions.

Printed in the People's Republic of China

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MARX TO PAVEL VASILYEVICH ANNENKOV

Brussels, December 28 [1846]

My Dear Monsieur Annenkov,

You would have received my answer to your letter of November 1st long ago except for the fact that my bookseller only sent me Mr. Proudhon's book, *The Philosophy of Poverty*, last week. I have gone through it in two days so as to give you my opinion on it at once. As I have read through the book very hurriedly, I cannot go into details but can only tell you the general impression it has made on me. If you wish, I could go into details in a second letter.

I must confess that on the whole I find the book bad, and very bad at that. You yourself laugh in your letter at the mere "bit of German philosophy"¹ which Mr. Proudhon parades in this formless and pretentious work, but you assume that the economic argument has not been infected by the philosophic poison. Far be it from me as well to attribute the errors in the economic argument to Mr. Proudhon's philosophy. Mr. Proudhon does not give us a false criticism of political economy because he has an absurd philosophic

theory, but he gives us an absurd philosophic theory because he fails to understand the social system of our day in its concatenation (*engrènement*), to use a word which, like many other things, Mr. Proudhon has borrowed from Fourier.

Why does Mr. Proudhon talk about God, about universal reason, about the impersonal reason of humanity which never errs, which has always remained equal to itself and of which one need only have the right consciousness to know the truth? Why does he resort to feeble Hegelianism to make himself appear like a bold thinker?

He himself provides you with the answer to this riddle. Mr. Proudhon sees in history a series of social developments; he finds progress realized in history; finally he finds that men, as individuals, did not know what they were doing and were mistaken about their own movement, that is to say, their social development seems at first glance to be distinct, separate and independent of their individual development. He cannot explain these facts, and so the hypothesis of universal reason manifesting itself comes in very handy. Nothing is easier than to invent mystical causes, i.e., phrases in which there is no sound common sense at all.

But when Mr. Proudhon admits that he understands nothing about the historical development of humanity — he admits this by using such high-sounding words as: Universal Reason, God, etc. — is he not implicitly and necessarily admitting that he is incapable of understanding *economic development*?

What is society, whatever its form may be? The product of men's reciprocal action. Are men free to choose this or that form of society? By no means. Assume a particular level of development of men's productive forces and you will get a particular form of commerce and consumption. Assume

particular stages of development in production, commerce and consumption and you will have a corresponding social system, a corresponding organization of the family, of social orders or of classes, in a word, a corresponding civil society. Assume such a civil society and you will get a political system appropriate to it, a system which is only the official expression of civil society. Mr. Proudhon will never understand this because he thinks he is doing something great by appealing from the state to civil society — that is to say, from the official epitome of society to official society.

It is superfluous to add that men are not free to choose *their productive forces* — which are the basis of all their history — for every productive force is an acquired force, the product of former activity. The productive forces are therefore the result of practically applied human energy; but this energy is itself conditioned by the circumstances in which men find themselves, by the productive forces already acquired, by the social form which exists before they exist, which they do not create, which is the product of the preceding generation. Because of the simple fact that every succeeding generation finds itself in possession of the productive forces acquired by the previous generation, and that they serve it as the raw material for new production, a coherence arises in human history, a history of humanity takes shape which becomes all the more a history of humanity the more the productive forces of men and therefore their social relations develop. Hence it necessarily follows that the social history of men is always the history of their individual development, whether they are conscious of it or not. Their material relations are the basis of all their relations. These material relations are only the necessary forms in which their material and individual activity is realized.

Mr. Proudhon confuses ideas with things. Men never relinquish what they have won, but this does not mean that they never relinquish the social form in which they have acquired certain productive forces. On the contrary, in order that they may not be deprived of the results attained and forfeit the fruits of civilization, they are obliged, when the mode of carrying on commerce no longer corresponds to the productive forces acquired, to change all their traditional social forms. — I am using the word "commerce" here in its widest sense, as we use *Verkehr* in German. For example: the privileges, the institution of guilds and corporations, the regulatory regime of the Middle Ages, were social relations that alone corresponded to the acquired productive forces and to the social condition which had previously existed and from which these institutions had arisen. Under the protection of the regime of corporations and regulations, capital was accumulated, overseas trade was developed, colonies were founded. But the fruits of this would have been forfeited by men if they had tried to retain the forms under whose shelter these fruits had ripened. Hence two thunderclaps occurred, the revolutions of 1640 and 1688. All the old economic forms, the social relations corresponding to them, the political system that was the official expression of the old civil society, were destroyed in England. Thus the economic forms in which men produce, consume, and exchange, are *transitory and historical*. With the acquisition of new productive forces, men change their mode of production and with the mode of production all the economic relations which are merely the relations appropriate to a particular mode of production.

This is precisely what Mr. Proudhon has not understood and still less demonstrated. Mr. Proudhon, incapable of following the real movement of history, produces a phantas-

magoria which claims to be dialectical. He does not need to speak of the seventeenth, the eighteenth or the nineteenth century, for his history proceeds in the misty realm of imagination and is above space and time. In short, it is not history but trite Hegelian trash, it is not profane history — history of man — but sacred history — history of ideas. From his point of view man is only the instrument of which the idea or the eternal reason makes use in order to unfold itself. The *evolutions* of which Mr. Proudhon speaks are understood to be evolutions such as are accomplished within the mystic womb of the absolute idea. If one discards the veil of this mystical language, it means that Mr. Proudhon specifies the arrangement in which economic categories are classified inside his own mind. It will not require great exertion on my part to prove to you that it is the order of a very disorderly mind.

Mr. Proudhon begins his book with a dissertation on *value*, which is his pet subject. I will not enter on an examination of this dissertation today.

The series of economic evolutions of eternal reason begins with *division of labour*. To Mr. Proudhon division of labour is a perfectly simple thing. But was not the caste system also a particular type of division of labour? Was not the system of the corporations another division of labour? And was not the division of labour under the system of manufacture, which in England began in the middle of the seventeenth century and ended towards the end of the eighteenth, also totally different from the division of labour in large-scale, modern industry?

Mr. Proudhon is so far from the truth that he neglects what even the profane economists attend to. When he talks about division of labour he does not feel it necessary to men-

tion the world *market*. Well, in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, when there were as yet no colonies, when America did not yet exist for Europe, and East Asia only existed through the medium of Constantinople, was not division of labour at that time bound to be fundamentally different from division of labour in the seventeenth century which already had a developed colonial system?

And that is not all. Is the whole internal organization of nations, are all their international relations anything but the expression of a particular division of labour? And are they not bound to change when changes occur in the division of labour?

Mr. Proudhon has so little understood the problem of the division of labour that he does not even mention the separation of town and country which took place, for instance in Germany, from the ninth to the twelfth century. Thus, this separation must become an eternal law for Mr. Proudhon since he knows neither its origin nor its development. All through his book, therefore, he speaks as if this creation of a particular mode of production would endure until the end of time. All that Mr. Proudhon says about division of labour is only a summary, and moreover a very superficial and incomplete summary, of what Adam Smith and a thousand others have said before him.

The second evolution is *machinery*. The connection between division of labour and machinery is entirely mystical to Mr. Proudhon. Each kind of division of labour had its specific instruments of production. Between the middle of the seventeenth and the middle of the eighteenth century, for instance, people did not make everything by hand. They had instruments, and very complicated ones at that, such as looms, ships, levers, etc., etc.

Thus there is nothing more absurd than to declare that machines have come into being as a consequence of division of labour in general.

I may also remark, by the way, that since Mr. Proudhon has not understood the historical origin of machinery, he has still less understood its development. One can say that up to the year 1825 — the period of the first general crisis — the demands of consumption in general increased more rapidly than production, and the development of machinery was a necessary consequence of the needs of the market. Since 1825, the invention and application of machinery has been simply the result of the war between workers and employers. But this is only true of England. As for the European nations, they were driven to adopt machinery owing to English competition both in their home markets and on the world market. Finally, in North America the introduction of machinery was due both to competition with other countries and to lack of hands, that is, to the disproportion between the population of North America and its industrial needs. From these facts you can see what sagacity Mr. Proudhon displays when he conjures up the spectre of competition as the third evolution, the antithesis to machinery!

Lastly, it is altogether absurd to make *machinery* an economic category alongside with division of labour, competition, credit, etc.

The machine is no more an economic category than the ox which draws the plough. The contemporary *use* of machines is one of the relations of our present economic system, but the way in which machinery is utilized is totally distinct from the machinery itself. Powder is powder whether used to wound a man or to dress his wounds.

Mr. Proudhon surpasses himself when he allows competition, monopoly, taxes or police, balance of trade, credit and property to develop inside his head in the order in which I have mentioned them. Almost the whole of the credit system had been developed in England by the beginning of the eighteenth century, before the invention of machinery. Government loans were only a fresh method of increasing taxation and satisfying the new demands created by the rise of the bourgeoisie to power. Finally, the last category in Mr. Proudhon's system is *property*. In the real world, on the other hand, division of labour and all Mr. Proudhon's other categories are social relations forming in their entirety what is today known as *property*; outside these relations bourgeois property is nothing but a metaphysical or legal illusion. The property of a different epoch, feudal property, develops under entirely different social relations. By presenting property as an independent relation, Mr. Proudhon commits more than a mistake in method: he clearly shows that he has not grasped the bond which holds together all forms of *bourgeois* production, that he has not understood the *historical* and *transitory* character of the forms of production in a particular epoch. Mr. Proudhon, who does not regard our social institutions as historical products, who is unable to understand either their origin or their development, can only produce dogmatic criticism of them.

Mr. Proudhon is therefore obliged to take refuge in a *fiction* in order to explain development. He imagines that division of labour, credit, machinery, etc., were all invented to serve his fixed idea, the idea of equality. His explanation is sublimely naive. These things were invented in the interests of equality but unfortunately they turned against equality. This constitutes his whole argument. In other

words, he takes as his starting point an arbitrary assumption and then, since the actual development contradicts his fiction at every step, he concludes that there is a contradiction. He conceals the fact that the contradiction exists solely between his fixed ideas and the real movement.

Thus, Mr. Proudhon, mainly because he lacks the historical knowledge, has not perceived that as men develop their productive forces, that is, as they live, they develop certain relations with one another and that the nature of these relations is bound to change with the change and growth of these productive forces. He has not perceived that *economic categories* are only *abstract expressions* of these actually existing relations and only remain true while these relations exist. He therefore falls into the error of the bourgeois economists, who regard these economic categories as eternal laws and not as historical laws which are valid only for a particular historical development, for a definite development of the productive forces. Instead, therefore, of regarding the politico-economic categories as abstract expressions of the real, transitory, historic social relations, Mr. Proudhon, owing to a mystic inversion, regards real relations merely as reifications of these abstractions. These abstractions themselves are formulas which have been slumbering in the bosom of God the Father since the beginning of the world.

But here our good Mr. Proudhon falls into severe intellectual convulsions. If all these economic categories are emanations from the bosom of God, if they constitute the hidden and eternal life of man, how does it come about, first, that there is such a thing as development, and secondly, that Mr. Proudhon is not a conservative? He explains these evident contradictions by a whole system of antagonisms.

To throw light on this system of antagonisms let us take an example.

Monopoly is a good thing, because it is an economic category and therefore an emanation of God. Competition is a good thing because it is also an economic category. But what is not good is the reality of monopoly and the reality of competition. What is still worse is the fact that monopoly and competition devour each other. What is to be done? As these two eternal ideas of God contradict each other, it seems obvious to him that there is also within the bosom of God a synthesis of these two ideas, in which the evils of monopoly are balanced by competition and *vice versa*. As a result of the struggle between the two ideas only their good side will manifest itself. One must snatch this secret idea from God and then apply it and everything will be for the best; the synthetic formula which lies hidden in the darkness of the impersonal reason of man must be revealed. Mr. Proudhon does not hesitate for a moment to come forward as the revealer.

But look for a moment at real life. In the economic life of the present time you find not only competition and monopoly but also their synthesis, which is not a *formula* but a *movement*. Monopoly produces competition, competition produces monopoly. But this equation, far from removing the difficulties of the present situation, as the bourgeois economists imagine it does, results in a situation still more difficult and confused. If therefore you alter the basis on which present-day economic relations rest, if you destroy the present *mode* of production, then you will not only destroy competition, monopoly and their antagonism, but also their unity, their synthesis, the movement, which is the real equalization process of competition and monopoly.

Now I will give you an example of Mr. Proudhon's dialectics.

Freedom and *slavery* constitute an antagonism. I need not speak either of the good or of the bad sides of freedom. As to slavery, I need not speak of its bad sides. The only thing that has to be explained is the good side of slavery. We are not dealing with indirect slavery, the slavery of the proletariat, but with direct slavery, the slavery of the black people in Surinam, in Brazil, and in the Southern States of North America.

Direct slavery is as much the pivot of our industrialism today as machinery, credit, etc. Without slavery no cotton; without cotton no modern industry. It is slavery which has given value to the colonies; the colonies have created world trade; world trade is the necessary condition of large-scale machine industry. Thus, before the traffic in Negroes began, the colonies supplied the Old World with only very few products and did not visibly change the face of the earth. Slavery is therefore an economic category of the highest importance. Without slavery North America, the most progressive country, would be turned into a patriarchal land. If North America were wiped off the map of the world the result would be anarchy, the total decay of trade and of modern civilization. But to make slavery disappear would mean to wipe America off the map of the world. Since slavery is an economic category, it has existed in every nation since the world began. Modern nations have merely known how to disguise slavery in their own countries while they openly imported it into the New World. After these observations on slavery, how will our worthy Mr. Proudhon proceed? He will look for the synthesis between freedom and slavery, the

true *juste-milieu*,* in other words equilibrium between slavery and freedom.

Mr. Proudhon has very well grasped the fact that men produce cloth, linen, silks, and it is really a great merit to have grasped such a small matter! But he has failed to understand that, in accordance with their productive forces, these men also produce the *social relations* amid which they manufacture cloth and linen. Still less has he understood that men, who produce their social relations in accordance with their material productivity, also produce *ideas, categories*, that is to say the abstract ideal expressions of these same social relations. Thus the categories are no more eternal than the relations they express. They are historical and transitory products. To Mr. Proudhon, on the contrary, abstractions, categories are the primary cause. According to him they, and not men, make history. The *abstraction*, the *category taken as such*, i.e., apart from men and their material activities, is of course immortal, unchangeable, immutable; it is simply an entity of pure reason, which is only another way of saying that the abstraction as such is abstract. An admirable *tautology*!

Thus, regarded as categories, economic relations for Mr. Proudhon are eternal formulas without origin or progress.

Let us put it in another way: Mr. Proudhon does not directly state that *bourgeois life* is for him an *eternal truth*; he states it indirectly by deifying the categories which express bourgeois relations in the form of thought. He regards the products of bourgeois society as spontaneously arisen eternal entities, endowed with lives of their own, since they present themselves to his mind in the form of categories, in the form of thought. Accordingly he does not rise above the bour-

* Happy medium. — Ed.

geois horizon. As he is operating with bourgeois ideas, as though they were eternal truths, he seeks a synthesis of these ideas, their equilibrium and does not see that the present method by which they reach equilibrium is the only possible one.

Indeed he does what all good bourgeois do. They all assert that in principle, that is, considered as abstract ideas, competition, monopoly, etc., are the only basis of life, but that in practice they leave much to be desired. They all want competition without the pernicious effects of competition. They all want the impossible, namely, the conditions of bourgeois existence without the necessary consequences of those conditions. None of them understands that the bourgeois form of production is historical and transitory, just as the feudal form was. This mistake arises from the fact that the bourgeois man is to them the only possible basis of every society; they cannot imagine a society in which men have ceased to be bourgeois.

Mr. Proudhon is therefore bound to be a *doctrinaire*. The historical movement, which is overturning the present-day world, reduces itself for him to the problem of discovering the correct equilibrium, the synthesis, of two bourgeois thoughts. And so the clever fellow by virtue of his subtlety discovers the hidden thought of God, the unity of two isolated thoughts — which are only isolated because Mr. Proudhon has isolated them from practical life, from present-day production, which is the combination of the realities which they express. In place of the great historical movement arising from the conflict between the productive forces already acquired by men and their social relations, which no longer correspond to these productive forces; in place of the imminent terrible wars between the different classes within

each nation and between different nations; in place of the real and violent action of the masses by which alone these conflicts can be resolved — in place of this vast, prolonged and complicated movement, Mr. Proudhon puts the whimsical motion of his own head. It is therefore the men of learning that make history, the men who know how to purloin God's secret thoughts. The common people have only to apply their revelations. You will now understand why Mr. Proudhon is the declared enemy of every political movement. The solution of actual problems does not lie for him in public action but in the dialectical rotations of his own head. Since to him the categories are the motive force, it is not necessary to change practical life in order to change the categories. Quite the contrary. One must change the categories and the consequence will be a change in the existing society.

In his desire to reconcile the contradictions Mr. Proudhon does not even ask whether it is not the basis of those contradictions that must really be overthrown. He is exactly like the political doctrinaire who chooses to regard the king, the chamber of deputies and the chamber of peers as integral parts of social life, as eternal categories. All he is looking for is a new formula by which to establish an equilibrium between these powers whose equilibrium consists precisely in the actually existing movement in which one power is now the conqueror and now the slave of the other. Thus in the eighteenth century a number of mediocre minds were busy finding the true formula which would bring the social estates, nobility, king, parliament, etc., into equilibrium, and they woke up one morning to find that all this — king, parliament and nobility — had disappeared. The true equilibrium in this antagonism was the overthrow of all the social relations

which served as a basis for these feudal institutions and for the antagonisms of these feudal institutions.

Because Mr. Proudhon places eternal ideas, the categories of pure reason, on the one side and human beings and their practical life, which, according to him, is the application of these categories, on the other, one finds with him from the beginning a *dualism* between life and ideas, between soul and body, a dualism which recurs in many forms. You can see now that this antagonism is nothing but the incapacity of Mr. Proudhon to understand the profane origin and the profane history of the categories which he deifies.

My letter is already too long for me to speak of the absurd case which Mr. Proudhon puts up against communism. For the moment you will grant me that a man who has not understood the present social system may be expected to understand still less the movement which seeks to overthrow it, and the literary expressions of this revolutionary movement.

The *only point* on which I am in complete agreement with Mr. Proudhon is his dislike for socialist sentimentalism. I had already, before him, drawn much enmity upon myself by ridiculing this sheep-like, sentimental, utopian socialism. But is not Mr. Proudhon strangely deluding himself when he sets up his petty-bourgeois sentimentality — I am referring to his declamations about family life, conjugal love and all such banalities — in opposition to socialist sentimentality, which in Fourier, for example, goes much deeper than the pretentious platitudes of our worthy Proudhon? He is himself so well aware of the emptiness of his arguments, of his utter incapacity to speak about these things, that he bursts into violent fits of rage, vociferation and righteous wrath, foams at the mouth, curses, denounces, cries shame and murder, beats his

breast and boasts before God and man that he is in no way connected with the socialist infamies! He does not criticize socialist sentimentalities, or what he regards as such. Like a holy man, a pope, he excommunicates poor sinners and sings the glories of the petty bourgeoisie and of the miserable patriarchal amorous illusions of the domestic hearth. And this is certainly no accident. From head to foot Mr. Proudhon is the philosopher and economist of the petty bourgeoisie. In an advanced society the *petty bourgeois* is compelled by his very position to become a socialist on the one hand and an economist on the other; that is to say, he is dazed by the magnificence of the upper middle class and has sympathy for the sufferings of the people. He is at once both bourgeois and man of the people. Deep down in his heart he flatters himself that he is impartial and has found the right equilibrium, which claims to be something different from the *juste-milieu*. Such a petty bourgeois deifies *contradiction* because contradiction is the essence of his existence. He is himself simply social contradiction in action. He must justify in theory what he is in practice, and Mr. Proudhon has the merit of being the scientific interpreter of the French petty bourgeoisie — a genuine merit, because the petty bourgeoisie will form an integral part of all the impending social revolutions.

I wish I could send you my book on political economy² with this letter, but it has so far been impossible for me to get this work, and the criticism of the German philosophers and socialists* of which I spoke to you in Brussels, printed. You would never believe the difficulties which a publication of this kind comes up against in Germany, on the one hand

* Refers to Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*. — Ed.

from the police and on the other, from the publishers who are themselves the interested representatives of all the tendencies I am attacking. And as for our own Party, it is not merely that it is poor, but also that a large section of the German Communist Party is angry with me for opposing their utopias and declamations.

Yours truly,

Karl Marx

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

London, March 5, 1852

. . . As to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes, and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*. . . .

MARX TO ENGELS

London, April 16 [1856]

. . . The day before yesterday, a small banquet was held to celebrate the anniversary of the *People's Paper*.³ On this occasion, I accepted the invitation, as the times seemed to demand it, all the more so since I *alone* (as announced in the *Paper*) among all the refugees had been invited and the first toast, too, fell to me, in which I was to hail the sovereignty of the proletariat of all countries. So I made a little speech in English, which however I shall not have printed.⁴ The aim I had in mind was achieved. M. Talandier, who had to buy his ticket for 2s. 6d., and the rest of that gang of French and other refugees, have been convinced that we are the only "intimate" allies of the Chartists and that, though we refrain from public demonstrations and leave open flirtation with Chartism to the Frenchmen, we have it in our power to reoccupy at any time the position that historically is already due to us. This has become all the more necessary because at the already mentioned meeting of February 25 under Pyat's chairmanship, that German blockhead *Scherzer*

("old boy") came forward and in a really awful Straubinger style denounced the German "men of learning," the "intellectual workers" who had left them (the blockheads) in the lurch and thus forced them to discredit themselves in front of the other nations. You know this man Scherzner from the Paris days. I have had some more meetings with our friend Schapper and have found him to be a very repentant sinner. The retirement he has been living in for the past two years seems rather to have sharpened his mental powers. You will understand that in any eventuality it might always be good to have the man at hand, and, still more, keep him out of Willich's reach. Schapper is now furious with those blockheads in Windmill Street.⁵

I'll take care of your letter to Steffen. You should have kept Levy's letter there (in your own possession). Do that in every case with all letters I don't ask you to send back to me. The less they go through the mail the better. I fully agree with you about the Rhine province. The fatal thing for us is that I see something looming in the future that will smack of "treason to the fatherland." It will depend very much on how things turn out in Berlin as to whether we are forced into a position similar to that of the Mainz Clubbists of the old revolution.⁶ That would be tough. We who are so enlightened about our worthy brothers on the other side of the Rhine! The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War. Then the affair will be splendid. . . .

MARX TO ENGELS

[London] September 25, 1857

. . . Your "Army"* is very well done; only its size made me feel as if I had been hit over the head, for it must do you a lot of harm to work so much. If I had known that you were going to work far into the night, I would rather have let the whole matter go hang.

The history of the *army* brings out more clearly than anything else the correctness of our conception of the connection between the productive forces and social relations. In general, the army is important for economic development. For instance, it was in the army that the ancients first fully developed a wage system. Similarly among the Romans the *peculium castrense*** was the first legal form in which the right of others than fathers of families to moveable property was recognized. So also the guild system among the corpora-

* Marx is referring to Engels' essay the "Army" published in the *New American Cyclopaedia*. — Ed.

** Camp property, i.e., soldier's private property in the ancient Roman army. — Ed.

tion of *Fabri*.* Here too the first use of machinery on a large scale. Even the special value of metals and their use as money appears to have been originally based — as soon as Grimm's stone age was passed — on their military significance. The division of labour *within* one branch was also first carried out in the armies. The whole history of the forms of bourgeois society is very strikingly epitomized here. If some day you can find time you must work the thing out from this point of view.

In my opinion, the only points which have been overlooked in your account are: 1) The first appearance of mercenary troops, ready for use on a large scale and at once, among the Carthaginians (for our private use I will look up a book on the Carthaginian armies written by a Berlin man,⁷ which I came to know only later). 2) The development of the army system in Italy in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Tactical tricks, at any rate, were developed here. Extremely humorous is Machiavelli's description (which I will copy out for you) in his history of Florence of the way the Condottieri fought one another.⁸ (No, when I come to see you in Brighton — when?⁹ — I would rather bring the volume of Machiavelli with me. His history of Florence is a masterpiece.) And, finally, 3) the Asiatic military system as it first appeared among the Persians and then, though modified in a great variety of ways, among the Mongols, Turks, etc. . . .

* Work force or artisans in the Roman army. — *Ed.*

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

London, February 23, 1865

Dear Friend,

Yesterday I received your letter, which interested me greatly, and will now reply to the separate points you raise.

First of all, I shall briefly describe my attitude towards *Lassalle*. While he was engaged in agitation, relations between us were suspended: 1) because of his self-praise and bragging, to which he added the most shameless plagiarism from my writings and those of others; 2) because I *condemned* his *political* tactics; 3) because, even *before* he began his agitation, I had fully explained and "proved" to him here in London that direct *socialist* intervention by a "*State of Prussia*" was nonsense. In his letters to me (from 1848 to 1863), as in our personal meetings, he always declared himself an adherent of the party I represented. As soon as he realized, in London (at the end of 1862), that he could not play his games *with* me, he decided to come out as the "workers' dictator" *against* me and the old party. In spite of all that, I

recognized his merits as an agitator, although towards the end of his brief career, even that agitation appeared to me to assume an increasingly ambiguous character. His sudden death, the old friendship, wailful letters from Countess Hatzfeldt, indignation over the *cowardly impertinence* of the bourgeois press towards one whom in his lifetime they had so greatly feared — all that induced me to publish a short statement against that wretched Blind,* which did not, however, deal with the *substance* of Lassalle's doings. (Hatzfeldt sent the statement to the *Nordstern*.¹⁰) For the same reasons, and hoping to be able to remove some elements which appeared to me dangerous, Engels and I promised to contribute to *Social-Demokrat*¹¹ (it has published a translation of the *Address*¹² and at its request I wrote an article about Proudhon when he died**) and, after Schweitzer had sent us a *satisfactory programme of its editorial board*, we allowed our names to be given out as contributors.¹³ We had the further guarantee of the presence of W. Liebknecht as an unofficial member of the editorial board. However, it soon became clear — the evidence fell into our hands — that Lassalle had in fact *betrayed* the Party. He had entered into a formal contract with Bismarck (of course, *without* having any sort of guarantees in his hands). At the end of September 1864 he was to go to Hamburg and there (together with that crazy Schramm and the Prussian police spy, Marr) "*force*" Bismarck to incorporate Schleswig-Holstein, i.e., to proclaim its incorporation in the name of the "workers," etc., in return for which Bismarck promised universal suffrage and a few socialist charlatanries.¹⁴ It is a pity that Lassalle could not play the

* Marx, "Letter to the Editor of the *Beobachter* in Stuttgart." — *Ed.*

** Marx, "On Proudhon (Letter to J. B. Schweitzer)." — *Ed.*

comedy through to the end! It would have made him look damned ridiculous and foolish! And it would have put a stop forever to all attempts of that sort!

Lassalle went astray in this way because he was a "*realistic politician*" of Mr. Miquel's sort, but cut out on a larger pattern and with far bigger aims. (By the bye, I had long ago seen through Miquel sufficiently to explain his public utterances by the fact that the National Association¹⁵ offered an excellent way for a petty *Hanoverian* lawyer to make his voice heard in Germany outside his own borders and thus cause the enhanced "*reality*" of himself to make a retroactive impression in his Hanoverian homeland, playing the "*Hanoverian*" Mirabeau under "*Prussian*" protection.) Just like Miquel and his present friends snatched at the "*new era*"¹⁶ inaugurated by the Prussian Prince Regent in order to join the National Association and to cling to the "*Prussian lead*,"¹⁷ just as they developed their "*civic pride*" generally under *Prussian protection*, so Lassalle wanted to play the Marquis Posa of the proletariat with Philip II of the Uckermark,¹⁸ with Bismarck acting as the procurer between him and the Prussian Kingdom. He only aped the gentlemen of the National Association. But while the latter invoked the Prussian "*reaction*" in the interests of the middle class, Lassalle shook hands with Bismarck in the interests of the proletariat. These gentlemen had greater justification than Lassalle, in so far as the bourgeois is accustomed to regard the interest directly under his nose as being "*reality*," and as in fact this class has concluded a compromise everywhere, even with feudalism; whereas in the very nature of things, the working class has to be sincerely "*revolutionary*."

For a theatrically vain character like Lassalle (who was not, however, one to be bribed by paltry trash like offices, a

mayoralty, etc.), it was a most enticing thought: an act directly on behalf of the proletariat, carried out by Ferdinand Lassalle! He was in fact too ignorant of the real economic conditions required for such an act to be critical of himself. The German workers, on the other hand, were too "demoralized" by the despicable "realistic politics," which had induced the German bourgeoisie to tolerate the reaction of 1849-59 and simply to look on as the people were being stupefied, not to hail such a quack saviour, who had promised to get them with one leap into the promised land.

Well, to pick up again the thread broken off above: the *Social-Demokrat* had hardly been founded when it became clear that old Hatzfeldt at last wanted to execute Lassalle's "last will and testament." Through Wagener (of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*¹⁹) she was in touch with Bismarck. She placed the "Workers' Association" (the *General Association of German Workers*²⁰), the *Social-Demokrat*, etc. at his disposal. The annexation of Schleswig-Holstein was to be proclaimed in the *Social-Demokrat*, Bismarck to be recognized in general as patron, etc. The whole pretty plan was frustrated because we had Liebknecht in Berlin on the editorial board of the *Social-Demokrat*. Although Engels and I were not pleased with the editorial board of the paper with its spittle-licking cult of Lassalle, its occasional flirting with Bismarck, etc., it was, of course, more important to stand by the paper publicly for the time being so as to prevent old Hatzfeldt's intrigues and the complete compromising of the workers' party. We therefore made *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*,* although privately we were always writing to the *Social-Demokrat* that they must oppose Bismarck just as much as they oppose the Pro-

* The best of a bad bargain. — Ed.

gressives.²¹ We even put up with the intrigues of that vain fool, Bernhard Becker — who takes the importance bequeathed him by Lassalle's testament quite seriously — against the *International Working Men's Association*.²²

Meanwhile, Mr. Schweitzer's articles in the *Social-Demokrat* became more and more Bismarckian. I had written to him earlier saying that the Progressives could be intimidated on the "question of combinations," but that the *Prussian Government would never under any circumstances* concede the complete abolition of the Combination Laws, because that would involve a breakdown of the bureaucracy, would make the workers become legally of age, would shatter the Rules Governing Servants,²³ abolish the aristocracy's thrashing of arses in the countryside, etc., etc., which Bismarck could never allow and which was altogether incompatible with the Prussian bureaucratic state. I added that if the Chamber repudiated the Combination Laws, the government would take recourse to *phrases* (such phrases, for instance, as that the social question demanded "more thoroughgoing" measures, etc.) in order to retain them. All this proved to be correct. And what did Herr von Schweitzer do? He goes and writes an article *for* Bismarck²⁴ and saves all his heroic courage to be used against such infinitely small people as Schulze, Faucher, etc.

I think Schweitzer and the others have *honest* intentions, but they are "realistic politicians." They want to take *existing* circumstances into consideration and refuse to surrender this "privilege" of "realistic politics" to the exclusive use of Messrs. Miquel & Co. (The latter seem to want to reserve for themselves the right of intermixture with the Prussian Government.) They know that the workers' press and the workers' movement in Prussia (and therefore in the

rest of Germany) exist solely by the grace of the police. So they want to take things as they are, and not irritate the government, etc. just like our "*republican*" realistic politicians, who are willing to "put up with" a Hohenzollern *emperor*. But since I am not a "realistic politician," I, along with Engels, have found it necessary to give notice to the *Social-Demokrat* in a public statement (which you will probably soon see in one paper or another) of our intention to quit.*

At the same time, you will understand why at the present moment I can do *nothing* in Prussia. The government there has refused point-blank to repatriate me as a Prussian citizen.²⁵ Only in a form acceptable to Herr von Bismarck would I be allowed to *agitate* there.

I prefer a hundred times more my agitation here through the *International Association*. Its influence on the *English* proletariat is direct and of the greatest importance. We are making a stir here now on the General Suffrage Question, which of course has a *significance here quite different* from what it has in Prussia.²⁶

On the whole the progress of this "Association" is *beyond all expectations*: here, in Paris, in Belgium, Switzerland and Italy. Only in Germany, of course, I am opposed by Lassalle's successors, who: 1) are stupidly afraid of losing their importance; 2) are aware of my avowed opposition to what the Germans call "realistic politics." (It is this sort of "*realism*" that places Germany so far behind all civilized countries.)

Since anybody who pays one shilling for a card can become a member of the Association; since the French chose this

* Marx and Engels, "Statement (Letter to the Editorial Board of the *Social-Demokrat*)," — Ed.

form of individual membership (also the Belgians), because the law prevents them from affiliating to us as an "association" and since the situation in Germany is similar, I have now decided to ask my friends here and in Germany to form small societies — the number of members in each locality is immaterial — and each member is to take out an English membership card. Since the English society is *public*, there is nothing to stand in the way of such a procedure, even in France. I would be glad if you and the people closest to you would get into touch with London in this way. . . .

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

London, October* 9, 1866

... I was very much worried about the first Congress at Geneva.²⁷ On the whole however it turned out better than I had expected. The effect in France, England and America was unanticipated. I could not and did not want to go there, but wrote the programme for the London delegates.** I deliberately restricted it to those points which allow for immediate agreement and joint action by the workers, and give direct sustenance and impetus to the requirements of the class struggle and the organization of the workers into a class. The Parisian gentlemen had their heads full of the emptiest Proudhonist phrases. They babble away about science and know nothing. They scorn all *revolutionary* action, i.e., action arising out of the class struggle itself, all concentrated social movements, and therefore also those which can be carried

* "November" in the original. — *Ed.*

** Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions." — *Ed.*

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through by *political means* (for instance, the *legal* shortening of the working day). Under the *pretext* of *freedom*, and of anti-governmentalism or anti-authoritarian individualism, these gentlemen — who for sixteen years have so quietly endured the most miserable despotism, and still go on enduring it! — are actually preaching ordinary bourgeois economy, only in a Proudhonistically idealized form! Proudhon did enormous mischief. His sham criticism and sham opposition to the utopians (he himself is only a petty-bourgeois utopian, whereas in the utopias of a Fourier, an Owen, etc., there is the anticipation and imaginative expression of a new world) attracted and corrupted first the "*jeunesse brillante*," the students and then the workers, especially those of Paris, who as workmen in luxury trades are, without knowing it, strongly attached to the old rubbish. Ignorant, vain, presumptuous, talkative, blusteringly arrogant, they were on the verge of spoiling everything, because they had rushed to the Congress in numbers which bore no relation at all to the numbers of their members. On the quiet, I am going to give them a rap on the knuckles in the report.

I am particularly delighted about the American Workers' Congress which took place at the same time in Baltimore. The slogan there was organization for the struggle against capital, and remarkably enough most of the demands I drew up for Geneva were also put forward there by the correct instinct of the workers.²⁸

The Reform Movement here, which our Central Council (*quorum magna pars fui*²⁹) brought into being, has now taken on immense dimensions and become irresistible.²⁶ I have

* In which I played a great part. — *Ed.*

kept behind the scenes all the time and do not worry further about the matter, now that it has been set into motion.

Yours,
K. Marx

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

London, July 11, 1868

. . . As for the *Centralblatt*, the man is making the greatest possible concession in admitting that, if one means anything at all by value, the conclusions I draw must be accepted.³⁰ The unfortunate fellow does not see that, even if there were no chapter on "value" in my book,³¹ the analysis of the real relations which I give would contain the proof and demonstration of the real value relations. All that palaver about the necessity of proving the concept of value comes from complete ignorance both of the subject dealt with and of scientific method. Every child knows that a nation which ceased to work, I will not say for a year, but even for a few weeks, would perish. Every child knows, too, that the volume of products corresponding to the different needs requires different and quantitatively determined amounts of the total labour of society. That this *necessity* of the *distribution* of social labour in definite proportions cannot possibly be done away with by a *particular form* of social production but

can only change the *mode of its appearance*, is self-evident. Natural laws cannot be abolished at all. What can change in historically different circumstances is only the *form* in which these laws assert themselves. And the form in which this proportional distribution of labour asserts itself, in a social system where the interconnection of social labour manifests itself through the *private exchange* of individual products of labour, is precisely the *exchange value* of these products.

Science consists precisely in demonstrating *how* the law of value asserts itself. So that if one wanted at the very beginning to "explain" all the phenomena which seemingly contradict that law, one would have to present the science *before* science. It is precisely Ricardo's mistake that in his first chapter on value* he takes *as given* a variety of categories that have not yet been explained in order to prove their conformity with the law of value.

On the other hand, as you have correctly assumed, the *history of the theory* certainly shows that the concept of value relations has *always* been the *same* — sometimes clearer, sometimes hazier, more hedged around with illusions or more precise scientifically. Since the reasoning process itself proceeds from the existing conditions, and is itself a *natural process*, truly intelligent thinking must always be the same, and can vary only gradually, according to the degree of development, including the development of the organ by which the thinking is done. Everything else is drivel.

The vulgar economist has not the faintest idea that the actual everyday exchange relations can *not be directly identical* with the magnitudes of value. The essence of bourgeois vulgar economy consists precisely in this, that *a priori* there is no con-

* David Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*. — Ed.

scious social regulation of production. The rational and naturally necessary asserts itself only as a blindly working average. And then the vulgar economist thinks he has made a great discovery when, confronted with the disclosure of intrinsic interconnection, he proudly states that on the surface things look different. In fact, he boasts that he sticks to appearance, and takes it for the ultimate. Why, then, have any science at all?

But the matter has also another background. Once the interconnection is grasped, all theoretical belief in the permanent necessity of existing conditions collapses before their collapse in practice. Here, therefore, it is absolutely in the interest of the ruling classes to perpetuate this senseless confusion. And for what other purpose are the sycophantic babblers paid, who have no other scientific trump to play except that in political economy one must not think at all?

But *satis superque*.* In any case the fact that workers and even manufacturers and merchants understand my book and find their way about in it, whereas these "learned scribes" (!) complain that I make excessive demands on their understanding shows how debased these priests of the bourgeoisie are. . . .

* Enough and more than enough. — Ed.

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

London, April 12, 1871

. . . If you look at the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire*, you will find that I declare: the next attempt of the French Revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to *smash* it, and this is the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting. What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice there is in these Parisians! After six months of hunger and ruin, caused even more by internal treachery than by the external enemy, they rise up, beneath Prussian bayonets, as if there had never been a war between France and Germany and the enemy were not standing at the gates of Paris! History has no comparable example of similar greatness! Their "good nature" alone can be blamed for it if they are defeated. They should have marched at once on Versailles after first Vinoy and then the reactionary contingent of the Paris National Guard had themselves retreated. They missed

MARX TO L. KUGELMANN, APRIL 12, 1871

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their opportunity because of conscientious scruples. They did not want to *start a civil war*, as if that mischievous abortion Thiers had not already started the civil war anyway with his attempt to disarm Paris! Second mistake: The Central Committee, in order to make way for the Commune, surrendered its power too soon. Again as a result of its "honourable" scrupulosity! However that may be, the present uprising in Paris — even if it should be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile dogs of the old society — is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection in Paris. Just compare these Parisians, storming heaven, with those slaves to heaven of the German-Prussian Holy Roman Empire, with its posthumous masquerades reeking of the barracks, the Church, the clod-hopping Junkers and above all, of philistinism. . . .

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

[London] April 17, 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

I have duly received your letter. Just at this moment I have my hands full. So I'm writing only a few words. How you can compare petty-bourgeois demonstrations like that of June 13, 1849³² etc. with the present struggle going on in Paris is quite incomprehensible to me.

World history would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances. On the other hand, it would be of a very mystical nature if "accidents" played no part. These accidents naturally form part of the general course of development and are compensated for by other accidents. But acceleration and delay are very much dependent upon such "accidents," including the "accident" of the character of the people who at first stand at the forefront of the movement.

The decisively unfavourable "accident" this time is by no means to be sought in the general conditions of French so-

MARX TO L. KUGELMANN, APRIL 17, 1871

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ciety, but in the presence of the Prussians in France and their position just outside Paris. The Parisians were well aware of this. But the bourgeois *canaille* of Versailles were also well aware of this. Precisely for that reason, they presented the Parisians with the alternative of either taking up the fight or succumbing without a struggle. The demoralization of the working class in the latter case would have been a far greater disaster than the doom of any number of their "leaders." With the struggle in Paris the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase. Whatever the immediate outcome may be, a new point of departure of world-wide historical importance has been gained.

Adieu!

K. M.

MARX TO FRIEDRICH BOLTE

[London] November 23, 1871

: : . The *International*²² was founded in order to replace the socialist or semi-socialist sects by a really militant organization of the working class. The original Rules and the Inaugural Address* show this at a glance. On the other hand the International could not have stood its ground if the course of history had not already smashed sectarianism. The development of socialist sectarianism and that of the real working-class movement always stand in inverse proportion to each other. Sects are (historically) justified so long as the working class is not yet ripe for an independent historical movement. As soon as it has attained this maturity all sects are essentially reactionary. But the features displayed by history everywhere are repeated in the history of the International. Antiquated aspects attempt to re-establish and to assert themselves within the newly acquired form.

* Marx, "Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association" and "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association." — Ed.

MARX TO F. BOLTE, NOVEMBER 23, 1871

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And the history of the International was a *continual struggle of the General Council* against the sects and amateur experiments, which sought to assert themselves within the International against the real movement of the working class. This struggle was conducted at the *congresses*, but to a far greater extent in private negotiations between the General Council and individual sections.

Since in Paris, the Proudhonists (Mutualists³³) were co-founders of the Association, they naturally held the reins there for the first few years. Later, of course, Collectivist, Positivist, etc., groups arose there in opposition to them.

In Germany — the Lassalle clique. I myself corresponded with the notorious Schweitzer for two years and proved to him irrefutably that Lassalle's organization was a mere sectarian organization and, as such, hostile to the organization of the *real* workers' movement which the International is striving for. He had his "reason" for not understanding.

At the end of 1868 the Russian Bakunin joined the *International* with the aim of forming inside it a *second International* called the "*Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*,"³⁴ with himself as leader. He — a man devoid of all theoretical knowledge — claimed to represent the *scientific* propaganda of the International in that separate body, and wanted to make such propaganda the special function of that second *International within the International*.

His programme was a hash superficially scraped together from the Right and from the Left — *equality of classes* (!), *abolition of the right of inheritance* as the starting point of the social movement (Saint-Simonist nonsense), *atheism* as a *dogma* dictated to the members, etc., and as the main dogma (Proudhonist): *abstention from political action*.

This puerile myth found favour (and still has a certain hold) in Italy and Spain, where the material conditions for the workers' movement are as yet little developed, and among a few vain, ambitious, and empty doctrinaires in the French-speaking part of Switzerland and in Belgium.

To Mr. Bakunin his doctrine (the rubbish he borrowed from Proudhon, Saint-Simon, and others) was and is a secondary matter — merely a means to his personal self-assertion. Though a nonentity as a theoretician he is in his element as an intriguer.

For years the General Council had to fight against this conspiracy (supported up to a certain point by the French Proudhonists, especially in the *South of France*). At last, by means of Conference Resolutions 1, 2 and 3, IX, XVI and XVII, it delivered its long-prepared blow.³⁵

It goes without saying that the General Council does not support in America what it combats in Europe. Resolutions 1, 2, 3 and IX now give the New York Committee the legal means with which to put an end to all sectarianism and amateur groups, and, if necessary, to expel them. . . .

The ultimate object of the political movement of the working class is, of course, the conquest of political power for this class, and this naturally requires that the organization of the working class, an organization which arises from its economic struggles, should previously reach a certain level of development.

On the other hand, however, every movement in which the working class as a *class* confronts the ruling classes and tries to constrain them by pressure from without is a political movement. For instance, the attempt by strikes, etc., in a particular factory or even in a particular trade to compel individual capitalists to reduce the working day, is a purely

economic movement. On the other hand the movement to force through an eight-hour, etc., *law* is a *political* movement. And in this way, out of the separate economic movements of the workers there grows up everywhere a *political* movement, that is to say, a *class* movement, with the object of enforcing its interests in a general form, in a form possessing general, socially coercive force. While these movements presuppose a certain degree of previous organization, they are in turn equally a means of developing this organization.

Where the working class is not yet far enough advanced in its organization to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e., the political power, of the ruling classes, it must at any rate be trained for this by continual agitation against this power and by a hostile attitude towards the policies of the ruling classes. Otherwise it remains a plaything in their hands, as the September revolution in France showed, and as is also proved to a certain extent by the game that Mr. Gladstone & Co. have been able to play in England up to the present time.

ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO

London, January 24, 1872

. . . Bakunin, who up to 1868 had intrigued against the International,²² joined it after he had suffered a fiasco at the Berne Peace Congress³⁶ and at once began to plot *within it* against the General Council. Bakunin has a peculiar theory of his own, a medley of Proudhonism and communism. The chief point therein is that it does not regard capital, i.e., the class antagonism between capitalists and wage workers which has arisen through social development, but the *state* as the main evil to be abolished. While the great mass of the Social-Democratic workers are of the same opinion as we, i.e., that the state is nothing more than the organization which the ruling classes — landowners and capitalists — have established in order to protect their social privileges, Bakunin maintains that it is the *state* which has created capital, and that the capitalist has his capital *only by the grace of the state*. As, therefore, the state is supposed to be the chief evil, it is above all the state which must be abolished and then capitalism will go to blazes of itself. We, on the con-

ENGELS TO T. CUNO, JANUARY 24, 1872

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trary, say: abolish capital, the appropriation of all the means of production by a few, and the state will collapse of itself. The difference is an essential one: Without a previous social revolution the abolition of the state is nonsense; the abolition of capital *is* precisely the social revolution and involves a change in the whole mode of production. But since for Bakunin the state is the main evil, nothing must be done which can keep the state — that is, any state, whether it be a republic, a monarchy or anything else — alive. Hence *complete abstention from all politics*. To commit a political act, especially to take part in an election, would be a betrayal of principle. The thing to do is to carry on propaganda, heap abuse upon the state, organize, and when *all* the workers, hence the majority, are won over, all the authorities are to be deposed, the state abolished and replaced with the organization of the International. This great act, with which the millennium begins, is called *social liquidation*.

All this sounds extremely radical and is so simple that it can be learnt by heart in five minutes; that is why the Bakuninist theory has speedily found favour in Italy and Spain among young lawyers, doctors, and other doctrinaires. But the mass of the workers will never allow itself to be persuaded that the public affairs of their countries are not also their own affairs; they are by nature *politically-minded* and whoever tries to make them believe that they should leave politics alone will in the end be dropped by them. To preach to the workers that they should in all circumstances abstain from politics is to drive them into the arms of the priests or the bourgeois republicans.

Now, as the International, according to Bakunin, was not formed for political struggle but to replace the old state organization as soon as social liquidation takes place, it

follows that it must come as near as possible to the Bakuninist ideal of future society. In this society there will above all be no *authority*, for authority=state=absolute evil. (How these people propose to run a factory, operate a railway or steer a ship without a will that decides in the last resort, without a central administration, they of course do not tell us.) The authority of the majority over the minority also ceases. Every individual and every community is autonomous; but as to how a society of even only two people is possible unless each gives up some of his autonomy, Bakunin again maintains silence.

And so the International too must be arranged according to this pattern. Every section, and in every section every individual, is to be autonomous. To hell with the *Basle resolutions*,³⁷ which confer upon the General Council a pernicious authority demoralizing even to itself! Even if this authority is conferred *voluntarily* it must cease just *because* it is authority!

Here you have in brief the main points of this swindle. But who are the originators of the Basle resolutions? Well, *Mr. Bakunin himself* and his associates!

When these gentlemen saw at the Basle Congress that their plan to remove the General Council to Geneva, that is, to get it into their hands, would not succeed, they followed a different tack. They founded the *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*,³⁴ an international Society *within* the big International, on a pretext which you will now encounter again in the Bakuninist Italian press, for instance, in the *Proletario* and *Gazzettino Rosa*:³⁸ for the hot-blooded Latin races, it is claimed, a more outspoken programme is necessary than for the cool, slow-moving Northerners. This little scheme came to naught because of the resistance of the General Council,

which of course could not tolerate any separate *international* organization *within* the International. It has since reappeared in various shapes and forms in connection with the efforts of Bakunin and his crew to substitute the Bakunin programme for that of the International. On the other hand it was precisely Bakunin's empty boastful phrases that were always seized upon by the reactionaries, from Jules Favre and Bismarck to Mazzini, whenever it was a question of attacking the International. Hence the necessity of my statement of December 5 against Mazzini and Bakunin,* which was also published in the *Gazzettino Rosa*.

The nucleus of the Bakunin crowd consists of a few dozen people in the Jura whose whole following amounts to scarcely 200 workers. Their vanguard is made up of young lawyers, doctors and journalists in Italy who everywhere now pretend to act as spokesmen of the Italian workers; a few of them are in Barcelona and Madrid and every now and then you will find one — hardly ever a worker — in Lyons or Brussels; in London there is a single specimen, Robin. The conference,** convoked under the pressure of circumstances in lieu of the congress that had become impossible, served them as a pretext; and since most of the French refugees in Switzerland went over to their side because they (being Proudhonists) found some kindred views among them and for personal reasons, they sallied forth on their campaign. They counted, and not without reason, on malcontent minorities and mis-

* Engels, "The General Council's Statement to the Editorial Boards of the Italian Newspapers Regarding Mazzini's Articles on the International." — *Ed.*

** Engels is referring to the Conference of the First International that took place in London in 1871. — *Ed.*

understood geniuses, who may of course be found everywhere in the International. At present their fighting strength is as follows:

- 1) Bakunin himself — the Napoleon of this campaign.
- 2) The 200 Jurassians and the 40-50 members of the French Section (refugees in Geneva).
- 3) In Brussels Hins, editor of the *Liberté*,³⁹ who however does *not* come out *openly* for them.
- 4) Here, the remnants of the French Section of 1871,⁴⁰ which we have never recognized and which has already split into three parts which are fighting with one another. Then there are about 20 Lassalleans of the type of Herr von Schweitzer, who had all been expelled from the German Section (because of their proposal to *withdraw from the International en masse*) and who, being advocates of extreme centralization and rigid organization, fit to a T into the league of anarchists and autonomists.
- 5) In Spain, a few personal friends and adherents of Bakunin, who have strongly influenced the workers, particularly in Barcelona, at least theoretically. The Spaniards, on the other hand, are very keen on organization and quick to notice any lack of it in others. How far Bakunin can count on success there will not be seen until the Spanish Congress in April, and as workers will predominate there I have no grounds for anxiety.
- 6) Lastly, in Italy, the Turin, Bologna, and Girgenti* Sections have, as far as I know, declared in favour of convening the congress *ahead of time*. The Bakunist press claims that 20 Italian sections had joined; I don't know them. At any rate, almost everywhere the leadership is in the hands

* Now Agrigento. — Ed.

of friends and adherents of Bakunin, and they are raising a terrific hubbub. But a closer examination will most likely disclose that their following is not numerous, for in the long run the bulk of the Italian workers are still Mazzinists and will remain so as long as the International is identified there with abstention from politics.

At any rate, in Italy, for the time being, it is the Bakunist crowd that has the main say in the International. The General Council has no intention of complaining on that score; the Italians have the right to commit all the absurdities they choose and the General Council will counteract them only by way of peaceful debate. These people also have the right to declare for a congress in the Jurassian sense, although it is certainly exceedingly strange that sections which have only just affiliated and cannot be posted on anything should in such a matter at once take sides, especially before they have heard *both* parties to the dispute! I have told the Turin members the unvarnished truth about this matter and shall do the same with the other sections which have made similar declarations. For every such declaration of affiliation is indirectly an approval of the false accusations and lies made against the General Council in the Circular.⁴¹ Incidentally, the General Council will shortly issue a circular* of its own about this matter. If you can prevent the Milanese from making a similar declaration *until the circular appears* you will be fulfilling all our desires.

The funniest thing is that the same people in Turin who declare in favour of the Jurassians and therefore reproach us here with authoritarianism, now suddenly demand that the General Council should take such authoritarian measures

* Marx and Engels, "Sham Splits in the International." — Ed.

against the rival *Federazione Operaia*⁴² of Turin as it had never taken before, should excommunicate Beghelli of the *Ficcanaso*,⁴³ who does not even belong to the International, etc. And all that before we have even heard what the *Federazione Operaia* has to say!

Last Monday* I sent you the *Révolution Sociale* containing the Jura Circular, one issue of the Geneva *Égalité*⁴⁴ (unfortunately I have no copies left of the issue containing the answer of the Geneva *Comité Fédéral*,** which represents 20 times as many workers as the Jural people do) and one *Volksstaat*⁴⁵ which will show you what the people in Germany think about the case. The Saxon Regional Meeting — 120 delegates from 60 localities — declared *unanimously* for the General Council.⁴⁶ The Belgian Congress (December 25-26) demands a revision of the Rules, but at the *regular* congress (in September).⁴⁷ From France we are every day receiving statements expressing consent. Of course, none of these intrigues find any support here in England. And the General Council will certainly not call an extraordinary congress just to please a few intriguers and busy-bodies. So long as these gentlemen keep within legal bounds the General Council will gladly let them have their way. This coalition of the most diverse elements will soon fall apart; but as soon as they start anything against the Rules or the Congress resolutions the General Council will do its duty.

If one considers that these people have launched their conspiracy precisely at the moment when a general hue and cry is being raised against the International, one cannot help

* January 22. — *Ed.*

** "Answer of the Committee of the Romanic Federation to the Circular of 16 Participants in the Sonvillier Congress." — *Ed.*

thinking that the international sleuths must have a hand in the game. And so it is. In Beziers the Geneva Bakuninists have picked the chief superintendent of police* as their correspondent! Two prominent Bakuninists, Albert Richard from Lyons and Blanc, were here and told a worker named Scholl, also from Lyons, with whom they got in touch, that the only way to overthrow Thiers was to restore Bonaparte to the throne; and for this very reason they were travelling about on *Bonaparte money* to conduct *propaganda* among the refugees *in favour of a Bonapartist restoration*! That is what these gentlemen call abstaining from politics! In Berlin the *Neue Social-Demokrat*,⁴⁸ subsidized by Bismarck, pipes the same tune. How far the Russian police is involved in this I shall leave for the present undecided, but Bakunin was deeply embroiled in the Nechayev affair (he denies it, of course, but we have the original Russian reports here and since Marx and I understand Russian he cannot put anything over on us).⁴⁹ Nechayev is either a Russian *agent provocateur* or anyhow acted as if he were. There are moreover all kinds of suspicious characters among Bakunin's Russian friends.

I am very sorry you lost your position. I had expressly written to you asking you to avoid anything that might lead to that, stating that your presence in Milan was much more important for the International than the small effect one could produce by *public* utterances, and that one can also accomplish much on the quiet, etc. If I can be of assistance to you by getting you translations, etc., I shall do so with the greatest of pleasure. But please tell me *from* which lan-

* Abel Bousquet. — *Ed.*

guages and *into* which languages you can translate and *how* I can be useful to you.

So those police swine have also intercepted my photograph. I am enclosing another one for you and would ask you to send me two of yours, one of which is to serve the purpose of inducing Miss Marx to let you have a photograph of her father (she is the only one who still has a couple of good ones left).

I would also ask you to be on your guard when dealing with *any* of the people connected with Bakunin. It is a characteristic feature of all sects to stick together and intrigue. You can be sure that *any information you give them* will immediately be passed on to Bakunin. It is one of his fundamental principles that keeping promises and the like are merely bourgeois prejudices, which a true revolutionary must treat with disdain when it benefits the cause. In Russia he says this openly, in Western Europe it is an esoteric doctrine.

Write to me *as soon as possible*. It would be very good if we could induce the Milan Section not to join in the chorus of the other Italian sections.

Fraternal greetings.

Yours,

F. Engels

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

London, June 20, 1873

. . . With regard to the attitude of the Party towards Lassalleanism, you of course can judge better than we what tactics should be adopted, especially in particular cases. But there is also this to be considered. When, as in your case, one is to a certain extent in the position of a competitor to the General Association of German Workers,²⁰ one can easily be too considerate of one's rival and get into the habit of always thinking of him first. But both the General Association of German Workers and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party⁵⁰ together still form only a very small minority of the German working class. Our view, which we have found confirmed by long practice, is that the correct tactics in propaganda are not to entice away a few individuals and local groups here and there from one's opponent, but to work on the great mass, which is not yet taking part in the movement. A single individual whom one has oneself reared from the raw is worth more than ten Lassallean turncoats, who always bring the germs of their false tendencies into the Party with

them. And if one could get only the masses without their *local leaders* it would still be all right. But in fact one must always take along a whole crowd of these leaders into the bargain, who are bound by their previous public utterances, if not by their previous views, and who must now prove above all things that they have not deserted their principles but that on the contrary the Social-Democratic Workers' Party preaches *true* Lassalleism. This was the unfortunate thing at Eisenach, which perhaps could not be avoided at that time, but these elements have certainly done harm to the Party and I am not sure that the Party would not have been at least as strong today without that accession. In any case, however, I should regard it as a misfortune if these elements were to receive reinforcements.

One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for "unity." Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who cause most of the discord, just as at present the Jura Bakuninists in Switzerland, who have provoked all the splits, clamour for nothing so much as for unity. These unity fanatics are either narrow-minded people who want to stir everything into one non-descript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast because they will then be all in one pot (in Germany you have a fine example of this in the people who preach reconciliation of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie) — or else they are people who unconsciously (like Mülberger, for instance) or consciously want to adulterate the movement. It is for this reason that the biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues shout loudest for unity at certain times. Nobody in our lifetime has given us more trouble and has caused more quarrels than the shouters for unity.

Naturally every party leadership wants to see successes, and this is quite a good thing. But there are circumstances in which one must have the courage to sacrifice *momentary* success for more important things. Especially for a party like ours, whose ultimate success is so absolutely certain, and which has developed so enormously in our own lifetime and before our own eyes, momentary success is by no means always and absolutely necessary. Take the International,²² for instance. After the Commune it had a colossal success. The bruised and shattered bourgeoisie ascribed omnipotence to it. The great mass of the membership believed things would stay like that for all eternity. We knew very well that the bubble *must* burst. All the riff-raff attached themselves to it. The sectarians within it became arrogant and misused the International in the hope that they would be allowed to commit the greatest stupidities and vulgarities. We could not put up with that. Knowing very well that the bubble must burst some time it was for us not a matter of delaying the catastrophe but taking care that the International emerged from it pure and unadulterated. The bubble burst at the Hague⁵¹ and you know that the majority of the Congress members went home sick with disappointment. And yet nearly all these disappointed people, who imagined they would find the ideal of universal brotherhood and reconciliation in the International, had far more bitter quarrels at home than those which broke out at the Hague. Now the sectarian quarrel-mongers are preaching reconciliation and decrying us as being cantankerous and dictators. And if we had come out in a conciliatory way at the Hague, if we had hushed up the breaking out of the split — what would have been the result? The sectarians, especially the Bakuninists, would have

had another year in which to perpetrate, in the name of the International, still greater stupidities and infamies; the workers of the most developed countries would have turned away in disgust; the bubble would not have burst but, pierced by pinpricks, would have slowly collapsed, and the next Congress, which would have been bound to bring the crisis after all, would have turned into the most sordid personal row, because *principles* would already have been abandoned at the Hague. Then the International would indeed have gone to pieces — gone to pieces through “unity”! Instead of this we have now got rid of the rotten elements with honour to ourselves — the members of the Commune who were present at the last and decisive session say that no session of the Commune left such a strong impression upon them as this judicial session dealing with the traitors to the European proletariat. For ten months we let them expend all their energies on lies, slander and intrigue — and where are they? They, the alleged representatives of the great majority of the International, now themselves announce that they do not dare to come to the next Congress. (An article which is being sent off to the *Volksstaat*⁴⁵ simultaneously with this letter contains further details.*) And if we had to do it again we should on the whole not act any differently — tactical mistakes are always made, of course.

In any case, I think the good elements among the Lassalleans will in due course join you of their own accord and it would, therefore, be unwise to break off the fruit before it is ripe, as the unity crowd wants to.

* Engels, “In the International.” — Ed.

Moreover, even old Hegel said: A party proves itself victorious by *splitting* and being able to stand the split.* The movement of the proletariat is bound to pass through various stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance; and even this alone is sufficient to explain why the “solidarity of the proletariat” is in reality everywhere being realized in different party groupings, which carry on life-and-death feuds with one another, as the Christian sects in the Roman Empire did amidst the worst persecutions.

If the *Neue Social-Demokrat*⁴⁸ for example has more subscribers than the *Volksstaat*, you ought not to forget either that each *sect* is necessarily fanatic and through this fanaticism obtains, particularly in regions where it is new (as for instance the General Association of German Workers is in Schleswig-Holstein), much greater momentary successes than the Party, which simply represents the real movement, without any sectarian oddities. But on the other hand, fanaticism does not last long. . . .

* See G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (*Phenomenology of Mind*). — Ed.

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

London, September 12 [-17] 1874

. . . With your resignation⁵² the *old* International²² is in any case entirely wound up and at an end. And that is good. It belonged to the period of the Second Empire, during which the oppression that dominated throughout Europe prescribed unity and abstention from all internal polemics to the workers' movement, then just re-awakening. It was the moment when the common cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore: Germany, Spain, Italy and Denmark had only just come into the movement or were just coming into it. Actually in 1864 the theoretical character of the movement was still very unclear everywhere in Europe, that is, among the masses. German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party, Proudhonism was too weak to be able to trot out its particular hobbyhorses, Bakunin's new rubbish didn't as much as exist in his own head, and even the leaders of the English Trade Unions thought the programme laid down in the preamble to the Rules gave them a basis for joining the movement. The first great success was bound to

ENGELS TO F. A. SORGE, SEPTEMBER 12-17, 1874

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blow to pieces this naive collaboration of all factions. This success was the Commune, which was without any doubt the child of the International intellectually — although the International did not lift a finger to produce it — and thus the International was quite properly held responsible for it. When, thanks to the Commune, the International had become a moral force in Europe, the row began at once. Every trend wanted to exploit the success for itself. The inevitable disintegration set in. Jealousy of the growing power of the only people who were really ready to go on working along the lines of the old comprehensive programme — the German Communists — drove the Belgian Proudhonists into the arms of the Bakuninist adventurers. The Hague Congress⁵¹ was actually the end — and for both parties. The only country where something could still be accomplished in the name of the International was America, and by a happy instinct the Executive was transferred there. Now its prestige is exhausted there, too, and any further effort to galvanize new life into it would be folly and a waste of effort. For ten years the International dominated one side of European history — the side on which the future lies — and it can look back on its work with pride. But in its old form it has outlived its usefulness. In order to produce a new International along the lines of the old one, that is, an alliance of all proletarian parties of all countries, a general suppression of the workers' movement, like that which prevailed from 1849-64, would be necessary. For this the proletarian world has now become too big, too extensive. I believe the next International — after Marx's writings have produced their effect for some years — will be directly Communist and will candidly proclaim our principles. . . .

MARX AND ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL,
WILHELM LIEBKNECHT,
WILHELM BRACKE AND OTHERS

("CIRCULAR LETTER")⁵³

[London, September 17-18, 1879]

III. *The Manifesto of the Three Zurichers*

In the meantime Höchberg's *Jahrbuch* has reached us, containing an article "The Socialist Movement in Germany in Retrospect,"⁵⁴ which, as Höchberg himself told me, has been written by precisely the three members of the Zurich Commission.* Here we have their authentic criticism of the movement up till now and consequently their authentic programme for the attitude the new organ is to take in so far as this depends on them.

Right at the beginning we read:

"The movement, which Lassalle regarded as an eminently political one, to which he summoned not only the workers but all honest democrats, at the head of which were to march the independent representatives of

* K. Höchberg, E. Bernstein and K. A. Schramm. — Ed.

science and all men imbued with true love of mankind, was lowered under the presidency of Johann Baptist von Schweitzer to a one-sided struggle of the industrial workers in their own interests."

I shall not examine whether or how far this is historically accurate. The special reproach here levelled against Schweitzer is that he *lowered* Lassalleanism, which is here regarded as a bourgeois democratic-philanthropic movement, to a one-sided struggle of the industrial workers in their interests,* by *heightening* the characteristic features of the industrial workers' class struggle against the bourgeois. He is further reproached with having "rejected bourgeois democracy." What business has bourgeois democracy within the Social-Democratic Party? If it consists of "honest men" it cannot wish to join, and if it nevertheless wants to join then only in order to make trouble.

The Lassallean party "chose to conduct itself in the most one-sided way as a workers' party." The gentlemen who write that are themselves members of a party which conducts itself in the most one-sided way as a workers' party. Here there is an absolute incompatibility. If they mean what they write they must leave the Party, or at least resign their offices. If they do not do so, they admit that they are proposing to utilize their official position in order to combat the proletarian char-

* Further in the manuscript, the following is deleted: "Schweitzer was a scoundrel, but at the same time very talented. The service he performed was to smash the original narrow Lassalleanism with its limited panacea of state assistance. . . . Whatever were the things he did for his own selfish motives, and however much he insisted in striving to preserve his hegemony, on the Lassallean cure-all of state assistance, he nonetheless performed a service in breaching the original narrow Lassalleanism, broadened his party's economic field of vision and thus prepared its later entry into the unified German party. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie — the nucleus of all revolutionary so-

acter of the Party. Consequently, if the Party leaves them their offices it is betraying itself.

In the opinion of these gentlemen, then, the Social-Democratic Party should *not* be a one-sided workers' party but an all-sided party of "all men imbued with true love of mankind." It must prove this above all by laying aside coarse proletarian passions and placing itself under the guidance of educated, philanthropic bourgeois "in order to cultivate good taste" and "to learn good form" (p. 85). Then the "ragged appearance" of some of the leaders will give way to a thoroughly respectable "bourgeois appearance." (As if the ragged external appearance of those here referred to were not the least they can be reproached with!) Then, too,

"numerous adherents from the circles of the *educated and propertied* classes will turn up. But *these* must first be won if the . . . agitation conducted is to attain *tangible successes*." German socialism has "attached too much importance to the winning of the *masses* and in so doing has neglected energetic[*] propaganda among the so-called upper strata of society." For "the Party still lacks men fit to represent it in the Reichstag." It is, however, "desirable and necessary to entrust the mandates to men who have had the time and opportunity to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the relevant material. The ordinary worker and small master craftsman . . . have the necessary leisure for this only in rare and exceptional cases."

cialism — was already preached by Lassalle. Insofar as Schweitzer emphasized this point even more, this was a step forward in essence, no matter how cleverly he may have used this point to cast suspicion on persons dangerous to his dictatorship. It is indeed correct to say that he transformed Lassalleism into a *one-sided* struggle of the *industrial* workers for their interests. But he rendered it one-sided only because, from selfish political motives, he did not want to know anything about the struggle of rural workers against large-scale landed ownership. His stubbornness, however, lay not in this but. . . — *Ed.*

* Words and punctuation within square brackets in the indents were added by Marx and Engels themselves. — *Ed.*

Therefore elect bourgeois!

In short: the working class of itself is incapable of emancipating itself. For this purpose it must place itself under the leadership of "educated and propertied" bourgeois who alone possess the "time and opportunity" to acquaint themselves with what is good for the workers. And secondly, the bourgeoisie is on no account to be attacked but — has to be *won over* by energetic propaganda.

But if one wants to win over the upper strata of society or only its well-disposed elements one must not frighten them on any account. And here the three Zurichers think they have made a reassuring discovery:

"Precisely at the present time, under the pressure of the Anti-Socialist Law,⁵⁵ the Party is showing that it *does not intend* to pursue the path of violent, bloody revolution but is determined . . . to follow the path of legality, that is, of *reform*."

Hence if the 500,000 to 600,000 Social-Democratic voters — between a tenth and an eighth of the whole electorate and, besides, dispersed over the length and breadth of the country — have the sense not to run their heads against a wall and attempt a "bloody revolution" of one against ten, this proves that they forever *renounce* taking advantage of some tremendous external event and a sudden revolutionary upsurge arising from it or even of a *victory* gained by the people in a conflict resulting from it. If Berlin should ever again be so uneducated as to have another March 18,⁵⁶ the Social-Democrats, instead of taking part in the fight like "riff-raff with a mania for barricades" (p. 88), must rather "follow the path of legality," put on the brakes, clear away the barricades and if necessary march with the glorious army against the one-sided, coarse, uneducated masses. Or if the gentlemen assert that this is not what they meant, what then did they mean?

But still better follows.

"Hence, the more quiet, objective and deliberate it [the Party] is also in its criticism of existing conditions and in its proposals to change them, the less possible will it be to repeat the present successful move [when the Anti-Socialist Law was introduced] with which the conscious reactionaries intimidated the bourgeoisie by conjuring up the Red bogey" (p. 88).

In order to relieve the bourgeoisie of the last trace of anxiety it must be clearly and convincingly proved to it that the Red bogey is really only a bogey, and does not exist. But what is the secret of the Red bogey if not the dread the bourgeoisie has of the inevitable life-and-death struggle between it and the proletariat? Dread of the inevitable outcome of the modern class struggle? Do away with the class struggle and the bourgeoisie and "all independent people" will "not eschew going hand in hand with the proletarians"! And the cheated ones would be just those proletarians.

Let the Party therefore prove by its humble and lowly manner that it has once and for all laid aside the "improprieties and excesses" which occasioned the Anti-Socialist Law. If it voluntarily promises that it intends to act only within the limits of this law, Bismarck and the bourgeoisie will surely have the kindness to repeal it, as it will then be superfluous!

"Let no one misunderstand us"; we do not want "to give up our Party and our programme, we think however that for years to come we shall have enough to do if we concentrate our whole strength and energy upon the attainment of certain immediate aims which must in any case be achieved before the realization of the more far-reaching aspirations can be thought of."

Then those bourgeois, petty bourgeois and workers who are "at present frightened away . . . by our far-reaching demands" will join us in masses.

The programme is not to be *given up* but only *postponed* — for an indefinite period. One accepts it, though not really for oneself and one's own lifetime but posthumously, as an heirloom to be handed down to one's children and grandchildren. In the meantime one devotes one's "whole strength and energy" to all sorts of trifles and the patching up of the capitalist order of society so as to produce at least the appearance of something happening without at the same time scaring the bourgeoisie. There I must really praise the "Communist" Miquel, who proves his unshakable belief in the inevitable overthrow of capitalist society in the course of the next few hundred years by swindling for all he's worth, contributing his honest best to the crash of 1873 and so *really* doing something to bring about the collapse of the existing order.

Another offence against good form was the "exaggerated attacks on the company promoters," who were after all "only children of their time"; it would therefore "have been better to abstain . . . from abusing Strousberg and similar people." Unfortunately everyone is "only a child of his time" and if this is a sufficient excuse nobody ought ever to be attacked any more, all controversy, all struggle on our part ceases; we quietly accept all the kicks our adversaries give us because we, who are so wise, know that these adversaries are "only children of their time" and cannot act otherwise. Instead of repaying their kicks with interest, we ought rather to pity these unfortunates.

Then again the support of the Commune had after all the disadvantage that

"people who were otherwise well disposed towards us were alienated and in general the *hatred of the bourgeoisie* against us was increased." Furthermore, the Party "is not wholly without blame for the passage of

the October Law,⁵⁷ for it had increased the *hatred of the bourgeoisie* unnecessarily."

There you have the programme of the three censors of Zurich. In clarity it leaves nothing to be desired. Least of all by us, who are very familiar with the whole of this phraseology from the days of 1848. It is the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie who are here making themselves heard, full of anxiety that the proletariat, under the pressure of its revolutionary position, may "go too far." Instead of determined political opposition, general mediation; instead of struggle against the government and bourgeoisie, an attempt to win over and persuade them; instead of defiant resistance to ill-treatment from above, humble acquiescence and admission that the punishment was deserved. Historically necessary conflicts are all interpreted as misunderstandings, and all discussion ends with the assurance that after all we are all agreed on the main point. The people who figured as bourgeois democrats in 1848 could just as well call themselves Social-Democrats now. To the former the democratic republic was as unattainably remote as the overthrow of the capitalist system is to the latter, and therefore is of absolutely no importance in present-day practical politics; one can mediate, compromise and philanthropize to one's heart's content. It is just the same with the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. It is recognized on paper because its existence can no longer be denied, but in practice it is hushed up, diluted, attenuated. The Social-Democratic Party *must not* be a workers' party, it must not incur the hatred of the bourgeoisie or of anyone else; it should above all conduct energetic propaganda among the bourgeoisie; instead of laying stress on far-reaching aims which frighten away the bourgeoisie and after all are not attainable in our generation,

it should rather devote its whole strength and energy to those petty-bourgeois patchwork reforms which, by providing the old order of society with new props, may perhaps transform the ultimate catastrophe into a gradual, piece-meal and as far as possible peaceful process of dissolution. These are the same people who, ostensibly engaged in indefatigable activity, not only do nothing themselves but try to prevent anything happening at all except — chatter; the same people whose fear of every form of action in 1848 and 1849 obstructed the movement at every step and finally brought about its downfall, the same people who never see reaction and are then quite astonished to find themselves in the end in a blind alley where neither resistance nor flight is possible, the same people who want to confine history within their narrow philistine horizon and over whose heads history invariably proceeds to the order of the day.

As to their socialist content, this has been adequately criticized already in the *Manifesto*, the chapter on "German, or 'True,' Socialism." Where the class struggle is pushed aside as a disagreeable "coarse" phenomenon, nothing remains as a basis for socialism but "true love of mankind" and empty phraseology about "justice."

It is an inevitable phenomenon, rooted in the course of development, that people from what have hitherto been the ruling classes also join the militant proletariat and supply it with cultural elements. We have clearly stated this already in the *Manifesto*. But in this context two points are to be noted:

First, in order to be of use to the proletarian movement these people must bring real cultural elements into it. But with the great majority of the German bourgeois converts that is not the case. Neither the *Zukunft* nor the *Neue Ge-*

*sellschaft*⁵⁸ have contributed anything which could advance the movement one step further. Here there is an absolute lack of real knowledge, whether factual or theoretical. In its place there are attempts to bring superficially mastered socialist ideas into harmony with the exceedingly varied theoretical standpoints which these gentlemen have brought with them from the universities or elsewhere and of which one is more confused than the other, owing to the process of decomposition which the remnants of German philosophy are at present undergoing. Instead of first of all thoroughly studying the new science themselves, each of them preferred to trim it to fit the point of view he had brought along, made himself forthwith a private science of his own and at once came forward with the pretension of wanting to teach it. Accordingly, there are about as many points of view among these gentry as there are heads; instead of elucidating a single problem they have only produced hopeless confusion — fortunately almost exclusively among themselves. The Party can very well manage without such intellectuals whose first principle is to teach what they have not learnt.

Secondly. If people of this kind from other classes join the proletarian movement, the first condition must be that they should not bring any remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices with them but should unreservedly adopt the proletarian outlook. But these gentlemen, as has been proved, are chock-full of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts. In such a petty-bourgeois country as Germany these concepts certainly have their justification. But only *outside* the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. If these gentlemen want to constitute themselves into a Social-Democratic petty-bourgeois party they have a perfect right to do so; one could then negotiate with them, form a block according to circum-

stances, etc. But in a workers' party they are an adulterating element. If reasons exist for tolerating them there for the moment it is our duty *only* to tolerate them, to allow them no influence in the Party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time. That time, moreover, seems to have come. How the Party can tolerate the authors of this article in its midst any longer is incomprehensible to us. If however the leadership of the Party were to fall more or less into the hands of such people, the Party would simply be emasculated and it would mean the end of proletarian energy.

As for ourselves, in view of our whole past there is only one road open to us. For almost forty years we have emphasized that class struggle is the immediate driving power of history, and in particular that the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is the great lever of the modern social revolution; we, therefore, cannot possibly co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement. When the International²² was formed we expressly formulated the battle-cry: The emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves. We cannot therefore co-operate with people who openly state that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves and must be freed from above by philanthropic persons from the upper and lower middle classes. If the new Party organ adopts a line that corresponds to the views of these gentlemen, that is middle class and not proletarian, then nothing remains for us, much though we should regret it, but publicly to declare our opposition to it, and to dissolve the bonds of the solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German Party abroad. But it is to be hoped that things will not come to *such* a pass.

The letter is dedicated to the whole five members of the German commission* as well as Bracke. . . .

On our part, we don't mind the Zurichers reading the letter.

* A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, F. W. Fritzsche, B. Geiser and W. Hasenclever. — Ed.

ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT

London, August 5, 1890

. . . I saw a review* of Paul Barth's book** by that bird of ill omen, Moritz Wirth, in the Vienna *Deutsche Worte*,⁵⁹ and *this* criticism left on my mind an unfavourable impression of the book itself, as well. I will have a look at it, but I must say that if "little Moritz" is right when he quotes Barth as stating that the sole example of the dependence of philosophy, etc., on the material conditions of existence which he can find in all Marx's works is that Descartes declares animals to be machines, then I am sorry for the man who can write such a thing. And if this man has not yet discovered that while the material mode of existence is the *primum agens**** this does not preclude the ideological spheres from

* M. Wirth, *Hegeluntug und Hegelaustreibung im modernen Deutschland* (*The Insult and Persecution of Hegel by Modern Germany*). — Ed.

** Paul Barth, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie, Hegels und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann* (*Hegel's Philosophy of History and the Hegelians up to Marx and Hartmann*). — Ed.

*** Primary agent, prime cause. — Ed.

reacting upon it in their turn, though with a secondary effect, he cannot possibly have understood the subject he is writing about. However, as I have said, all this is second-hand and little Moritz is a dangerous friend. The materialist conception of history has a lot of these nowadays, whom it serves as an excuse for *not* studying history. Just as Marx used to say, commenting on the French "Marxists" of the late seventies: "All I know is that I am not a Marxist."

There has also been a discussion in the *Volks-Tribüne* about the distribution of products in future society, whether this will take place according to the amount of work done or otherwise.⁶⁰ The question has been approached very "materialistically" in opposition to certain idealistic phraseology about justice. But strangely enough it has not struck anyone that, after all, the method of distribution essentially depends on *how much* there is to distribute, and that this must surely change with the progress of production and social organization, so that the method of distribution may also change. But to everyone who took part in the discussion, "socialist society" appeared not as something undergoing continuous change and progress but as a stable affair fixed once and for all, which must, therefore, have a method of distribution fixed once and for all. All one can reasonably do, however, is 1) to try and discover the method of distribution to be used *at the beginning*, and 2) to try and find the *general tendency* of the further development. But about this I do not find a single word in the whole debate.

In general, the word "materialistic" serves many of the younger writers in Germany as a mere phrase with which anything and everything is labelled without further study, that is, they stick on this label and then consider the question disposed of. But our conception of history is above all a

guide to study, not a lever for construction after the manner of the Hegelians. All history must be studied afresh, the conditions of existence of the different formations of society must be examined individually before the attempt is made to deduce from them the political, civil-law, aesthetic, philosophic, religious, etc., views corresponding to them. Up to now but little has been done here because only a few people have got down to it seriously. In this field we can utilize heaps of help, it is immensely big, and anyone who will work seriously can achieve much and distinguish himself. But instead of this too many of the younger Germans simply make use of the phrase historical materialism (and *everything* can be turned into a phrase) only in order to get their own relatively scanty historical knowledge — for economic history is still in its swaddling clothes! — constructed into a neat system as quickly as possible, and they then deem themselves something very tremendous. And after that a Barth can come along and attack the thing itself, which in his circle has indeed been degraded to a mere phrase.

However, all this will right itself. We are strong enough in Germany now to stand a lot. One of the greatest services which the Anti-Socialist Law⁵⁵ did us was to free us from the obtrusiveness of the German scholar who had got tinged with socialism. We are now strong enough to digest the German scholar too, who is giving himself great airs again. You, who have really done something, must have noticed yourself how few of the young literary men who fasten themselves onto the Party give themselves the trouble to study economics, the history of economics, the history of trade, of industry, of agriculture, of the formations of society. How many know anything of Maurer except his name! The self-conceit of the journalist must serve for everything here and

the result looks like it. It often seems as if these gentlemen think anything is good enough for the workers. If these gentlemen only knew that Marx thought his best things were still not good enough for the workers, how he regarded it as a crime to offer the workers anything but the very best! . . .

ENGELS TO JOSEPH BLOCH

London, September 21 [-22] 1890

. . . According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. Neither Marx nor I have ever asserted more than this. Therefore if somebody twists this into saying that the economic factor is the *only* determining one, he is transforming that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various components of the super-structure — political forms of the class struggle and its consequences, such as: constitutions drawn up by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflections of all these actual struggles in the minds of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas — also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases determine their *form* in particular. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless number of accidents (i.e., of things and events whose

inner interconnection is so remote or so impossible to prove that we can regard it as non-existent and can neglect it) the economic movement is finally bound to assert itself. Otherwise the application of the theory to any period of history one chose would be easier than the solution of a simple equation of the first degree.

We make our history ourselves, but, first of all, under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are ultimately decisive. But the political ones, etc., and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds also play a part, although not the decisive one. The Prussian state also arose and developed from historical, ultimately economic, causes. But one could scarcely maintain without being pedantic that among the many small states of North Germany, Brandenburg was specifically determined by economic necessity to become the great power embodying the economic, linguistic and, after the Reformation,⁶¹ also the religious differences between North and South, and not by any other elements as well (above all by its entanglement with Poland, deriving from its possession of Prussia, and thus with international political relations — which were in fact also decisive in the establishment of the dynastic power of Austria). Without making oneself ridiculous it would be a difficult thing to explain in terms of economics the existence of every small state in Germany, past and present, or the origin of the High German consonant permutations which widened the geographic wall of partition formed by the mountains from the Sudetic range to the Taunus, making a regular division across all of Germany.

In the second place, however, history is made in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between individual wills, of which each in turn has been made what it

is by a variety of particular conditions of life. Thus, there are innumerable criss-crossing forces, an infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one resultant — the historical event. This may again in turn be regarded as the product of a power which works as a whole *unconsciously* and without volition. For that which each individual wills is obstructed by everyone else, and what emerges is something that no one wanted. Thus history, up to the present, has proceeded in the manner of a natural process and is essentially subject to the same laws of motion. But from the fact that the wills of individuals — each of whom desires what he is impelled to by his physical constitution and external, in the final analysis economic, circumstances (either his own personal circumstances or those of society in general) — do not achieve what they want, but are merged into an aggregate mean, a common resultant, it must not be concluded that their value is equal to zero. On the contrary, each contributes to the resultant and is to this extent included in it.

I would furthermore ask you to study this theory from the original sources and not at second-hand; it is really much easier. Marx hardly ever wrote anything in which it did not play a part. But especially *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is a very excellent example of its application. There are also many allusions to it in *Capital*. I may also refer you to my writings: *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science** and *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, in which I have given the most detailed account of historical materialism which, as far as I know, exists.

* *Anti-Dühring*. — Ed.

only in the inverted reflection of the money and stock market and thus effect becomes cause to him. I noticed that already in the forties in Manchester:⁶³ the London stock exchange reports were utterly useless for understanding the course of industry and its periodical maxima and minima because these gentlemen tried to explain everything by crises on the money market, which were after all usually only symptoms. At that time the point was to prove that temporary over-production is not the cause of industrial crises, so that the thing had in addition its tendentious side, conducive to distortion. This point has now ceased to exist — for us, at any rate, once and for all — it is moreover a fact that the money market can also have its own crises, in which direct disturbances of industry play only a subordinate part or no part at all, and in this context a great deal has still to be ascertained and examined, especially in the history of the last twenty years.

Where there is division of labour on a social scale the separate labour processes become independent of each other. In the last instance production is the decisive factor. But as soon as trade in products becomes independent of production proper, it has a movement of its own, which, although by and large governed by that of production, nevertheless in particulars and within this general dependence again follows laws of its own inherent in the nature of this new factor; this movement has phases of its own and in its turn reacts on the movement of production. The discovery of America was due to the thirst for gold which had previously driven the Portuguese to Africa (cf. Soetbeer's *Production of Precious Metals*), because European industry and accordingly trade which had grown enormously in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries required more means of exchange than Germany, the great silver country from 1450 to 1550, could provide. The

conquest of India by the Portuguese, Dutch and English between 1500 and 1800 had *imports from* India as its object — nobody dreamed of exporting anything there. And yet what colossal repercussions upon industry had these discoveries and conquests, which were called forth solely by trade interests; it was only the need for *exports to* these countries that created and developed modern large-scale industry.

So it is, too, with the money market. As soon as trade in money becomes separate from trade in commodities it has — under definite conditions determined by production and commodity trade and within these limits — a development of its own, specific laws determined by its own nature and distinct phases. Add to this the fact that money trade, developing further, comes to include trade in securities and that these securities are not only government papers but also industrial and transport stocks, consequently money trade gains direct control over a portion of the production by which it is on the whole itself controlled, thus the repercussions of money trading on production become still stronger and more complicated. The money-dealers become owners of railways, mines, iron works, etc. These means of production take on a double aspect: their operation is governed sometimes by the interests of direct production, sometimes however also by the requirements of the shareholders, in so far as they are money-dealers. The most striking example of this is furnished by the North American railways, whose operation is entirely dependent on the daily stock exchange transactions of a Jay Gould or a Vanderbilt, etc., which have nothing whatever to do with the particular railway and its interests as means of communication. And even here in England we have seen contests lasting decades between different railway companies over the boundaries of their respective territories — contests

on which an enormous amount of money was thrown away, not in the interests of production and communication but simply because of a rivalry whose sole object usually was to facilitate the stock exchange transactions of the shareholding money-dealers.

With these few indications of my conception of the relation of production to commodity trade and of both to money trade, I have actually answered your questions about "historical materialism" generally. The thing is easiest to grasp from the point of view of the division of labour. Society gives rise to certain common functions which it cannot dispense with. The persons appointed for this purpose form a new branch of the division of labour *within society*. This gives them particular interests, distinct, too, from the interests of their mandators; they make themselves independent of the latter and — the state is in being. And now things proceed in a way similar to that in commodity trade and later in money trade: the new independent power, while having in the main to follow the movement of production, reacts in its turn, by virtue of its inherent relative independence — that is, the relative independence once transferred to it and gradually further developed — upon the conditions and course of production. It is the interaction of two unequal forces: on the one hand, the economic movement, on the other, the new political power, which strives for as much independence as possible, and which, having once been set up, is endowed with a movement of its own. On the whole, the economic movement prevails, but it has also to endure reactions from the political movement which it itself set up and endowed with relative independence, from the movement of the state power, on the one hand, and of the opposition simultaneously engendered, on the other. Just as the

movement of the industrial market is, in the main and with the reservations already indicated, reflected in the money market and, of course, in *inverted* form, so the struggle between the classes already existing and fighting with one another is reflected in the struggle between government and opposition, but likewise in inverted form, no longer directly but indirectly, not as a class struggle but as a fight for political principles, and it is so distorted that it has taken us thousands of years to get to the bottom of it.

The retroaction of the state power upon economic development can be of three kinds: it can proceed in the same direction, and then things move more rapidly; it can move in the opposite direction, in which case nowadays state power will go to pieces in the long run among every great people; or it can prevent the economic development from proceeding along certain lines, and prescribe other lines. This case ultimately reduces itself to one of the two previous ones. But it is obvious that in cases two and three the political power can do great damage to the economic development and cause extensive waste of energy and material.

Then there is also the case of the conquest and brutal destruction of economic resources, as a result of which, in certain circumstances, the entire economic development in a particular locality or in a country could be ruined in former times. Nowadays such a case usually has the opposite effect, at least with great peoples: in the long run the vanquished often gains more economically, politically and morally than the victor.

Similarly with law. As soon as the new division of labour which creates professional lawyers becomes necessary, another new and independent sphere is opened up which, for all its general dependence on production and trade, has also a

specific capacity for reacting upon these spheres. In a modern state, law must not only correspond to the general economic condition and be its expression, but must also be an *internally coherent* expression which does not, owing to internal conflicts, contradict itself. And in order to achieve this, the faithful reflection of economic conditions suffers increasingly. All the more so the more rarely it happens that a code of law is the blunt, unmitigated, unadulterated expression of the domination of a class — this in itself would offend the “conception of right.” Even in the *Code Napoléon*⁸⁴ the pure, consistent conception of right held by the revolutionary bourgeoisie of 1792-96 is already adulterated in many ways, and, in so far as it is embodied in the Code, has daily to undergo all sorts of attenuations owing to the rising power of the proletariat. This does not prevent the *Code Napoléon* from being the statute book which serves as the basis of every new code of law in every part of the world. Thus to a great extent the course of the “development of law” simply consists in first attempting to eliminate contradictions which arise from the direct translation of economic relations into legal principles, and to establish a harmonious system of law, and then in the repeated breaches made in this system by the influence and compulsion of further economic development, which involves it in further contradictions. (I am speaking here for the moment only of civil law.)

The reflection of economic relations in the form of legal principles is likewise bound to be inverted: it goes on without the person who is acting being conscious of it; the jurist imagines he is operating with *a priori* propositions, whereas they are really only economic reflections; everything is therefore upside down. And it seems to me obvious that this inversion, which, so long as it remains unrecognized, forms

what we call *ideological outlook*, influences in its turn the economic basis and may, within certain limits, modify it. The basis of the right of inheritance is an economic one, provided the level of development of the family is the same. It would, nevertheless, be difficult to prove, for instance, that the absolute liberty of the testator in England and the severe and very detailed restrictions imposed upon him in France are due to economic causes alone. But in their turn they exert a very considerable effect on the economic sphere, because they influence the distribution of property.

As to the realms of ideology which soar still higher in the air — religion, philosophy, etc. — these have a prehistoric stock, found already in existence by and taken over in the historical period, of what we should today call nonsense. These various false conceptions of nature, of man's own being, of spirits, magic forces, etc., have for the most part only a negative economic factor as their basis; the low economic development of the prehistoric period is supplemented and also partially conditioned and even caused by the false conceptions of nature. And even though economic necessity was the main driving force of the increasing knowledge of nature and has become ever more so, yet it would be pedantic to try and find economic causes for all this primitive nonsense. The history of science is the history of the gradual clearing away of this nonsense or rather of its replacement by fresh but less absurd nonsense. The people who attend to this belong in their turn to special spheres in the division of labour and they think that they are working in an independent field. And to the extent that they form an independent group within the social division of labour, their output, including their errors, exerts in its turn an effect upon the whole development of society, and

even on its economic development. But all the same they themselves are in turn under the predominant influence of economic development. In philosophy, for instance, this can be most readily proved true for the bourgeois period. Hobbes was the first modern materialist (in the sense of the eighteenth century) but he was an absolutist at a time when absolute monarchy was in its heyday throughout Europe and began the battle against the people in England. Locke was in religion and in politics the child of the class compromise of 1688.⁶⁵ The English deists⁶⁶ and their consistent followers, the French materialists, were the true philosophers of the bourgeoisie, and the French were even philosophers of bourgeois revolution. The German philistinism runs through German philosophy from Kant to Hegel, sometimes in a positive and sometimes in a negative way. But the precondition of the philosophy of each epoch regarded as a distinct sphere in the division of labour is a definite body of thought which is handed down to it by its predecessors, and which is also its starting point. And that is why economically backward countries can still play first fiddle in philosophy: France in the eighteenth century as compared with England, on whose philosophy the French based themselves, and later Germany as compared with both. But both in France and in Germany philosophy and the general blossoming of literature at that time were the result of an economic revival. The ultimate supremacy of economic development is for me an established fact in these spheres too, but it operates within the terms laid down by the particular sphere itself: in philosophy, for instance, by the action of economic influences (which in their turn generally operate only in their political, etc., make-up) upon the existing philosophic material which has been handed down by predecessors. Here economy creates nothing

anew, but it determines the way in which the body of thought found in existence is altered and further developed, and that too for the most part indirectly, for it is the political, legal and moral reflexes which exert the greatest direct influence on philosophy.

As regards religion I have said everything necessary in the last section on Feuerbach.*

Hence if Barth alleges that we altogether deny that the political, etc., reflections of the economic movement in their turn exert any effect upon the movement itself, he is simply tilting at windmills. He should only look at Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire*, which deals almost exclusively with the particular part played by political struggles and events, of course within their general dependence upon economic conditions. Or at *Kapital*, the section on the working day, for instance, where legislation, which is surely a political act, has such a drastic effect. Or the section on the history of the bourgeoisie (Chapter XXIV).⁶⁷ And why do we fight for the political dictatorship of the proletariat if political power is economically impotent? Force (that is, state power) is also an economic power!

But I have no time to criticize the book** now. Volume III*** must first be published and besides I think that Bernstein, for instance, could very well deal with it.

What these gentlemen all lack is dialectics. They always see only cause here, effect there. That this is an empty ab-

* Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*. — Ed.

** Paul Barth, *Hegel's Philosophy of History and the Hegelians up to Marx and Hartmann*. — Ed.

*** Volume III of *Capital*. — Ed.

straction, that such metaphysical polar opposites exist in the real world only during crises, and that the whole vast process goes on in the form of interaction — though of very unequal forces, the economic movement being by far the strongest, the primary and most decisive and that in this context everything is relative and nothing absolute — they cannot grasp at all. As far as they are concerned Hegel never existed. . . .

ENGELS TO FRANZ MEHRING

London, July 14, 1893

Dear Mr. Mehring,

Today is the first opportunity I have had to thank you for the *Lessing Legend* you were kind enough to send me. I did not want to reply with a mere formal acknowledgement of receipt of the book, but intended at the same time to tell you something about it, about its contents. Thus the delay.

I shall begin at the end — with the appendix "On Historical Materialism,"⁶⁸ in which you have summarized the main points excellently and for any unprejudiced person convincingly. If I find anything to object to it is that you give me more credit than I deserve, even if I take into account everything that I might possibly have found out for myself — eventually — but which Marx with his more rapid *coup d'oeil* and wider vision discovered much more quickly. When one has had the good fortune to work for forty years with a man like Marx, one usually does not during his lifetime get the recognition one thinks one deserves. Then, when the greater man dies, the lesser easily gets overrated and this seems to

me to be just my case at present. History will set all this right in the end, and by that time one has managed to kick the bucket and knows nothing any more about anything.

Otherwise only one more point is lacking, which, however, Marx and I always failed to stress enough in our writings and in regard to which we are all equally guilty. That is to say, in the first instance we all laid, and *were bound to lay*, the main emphasis on the *derivation* of political, juridical and other ideological notions, and of actions arising through the medium of these notions, from basic economic facts. But at the same time we have on account of the content neglected the formal side — the manner in which these notions, etc., come about. This has given our adversaries a welcome opportunity for misunderstandings and distortions, of which Paul Barth is a striking example.*

Ideology is a process which is indeed accomplished consciously by the so-called thinker, but with a false consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him remain unknown to the thinker; otherwise it simply would not be an ideological process. Hence he imagines false or illusory motive forces. Because it is a rational process he derives its form as well as its content from pure reasoning, either his own or that of his predecessors. He works exclusively with thought material, which he accepts without examination as something produced by reasoning, and does not investigate further for a more remote source independent of reason; indeed this is a matter of course to him, because, as all action is *mediated* by thought, it appears to him to be ultimately *based* upon thought.

* Paul Barth, *Hegel's Philosophy of History and the Hegelians up to Marx and Hartmann*. — Ed.

The historical ideologist (historical is here simply a comprehensive term comprising political, juridical, philosophical, theological — in short, all the spheres belonging to *society* and not only to nature) thus possesses in every sphere of science material which has arisen independently out of the thought of previous generations and has gone through its own independent course of development in the brains of these successive generations. True, external facts belonging to one or another sphere may have exercised a co-determining influence on this development, but the tacit presupposition is that these facts themselves are also only the fruits of a process of thought, and so we still remain within that realm of mere thought, which apparently has successfully digested even the hardest facts.

It is above all this semblance of an independent history of state constitutions, of systems of law, of ideological conceptions in every separate domain that dazzles most people. If Luther and Calvin "overcome" the official Catholic religion, or Hegel "overcomes" Fichte and Kant, or Rousseau with his republican *Contrat social* indirectly "overcomes" the constitutional Montesquieu, this is a process which remains within theology, philosophy or political science, represents a stage in the history of these particular spheres of thought and never passes beyond the sphere of thought. And since the bourgeois illusion of the eternity and finality of capitalist production has been added to this, even the overcoming of the mercantilists by the physiocrats and Adam Smith is regarded as a sheer victory of thought; not as the reflection in thought of changed economic facts but as the finally achieved correct understanding of actual conditions subsisting always and everywhere — in fact, if Richard Coeur-de-Lion and Philip Augustus had introduced free trade instead of getting mixed

up in the crusades we should have been spared five hundred years of misery and stupidity.

This aspect of the matter, which I can only indicate here, we have all, I think, neglected more than it deserves. It is the old story: form is always neglected at first for content. As I say, I have done that too and the mistake has always struck me only later. Hence I am not only far from reproaching you with this in any way — as the older of the guilty parties I certainly have no right to do so, on the contrary, but I would like all the same to draw your attention to this point for the future.

Connected with this is the ridiculous notion of the ideologists that because we deny an independent historical development to the various ideological spheres which play a part in history we also deny them any *effect upon history*. The basis of this is the common undialectical conception of cause and effect as rigidly opposite poles, the total disregard of interaction. These gentlemen often almost deliberately forget that once an historic element has been brought into the world by other, ultimately economic causes, it reacts, and can react on its environment and even on the causes that have given rise to it. For instance, Barth when he speaks of the priesthood and religion, your page 475. I was very glad to see how you settled up with this fellow, whose banality exceeds all expectations; and such a man is made professor of history in Leipzig! Old Wachsmuth — also rather a bonehead but greatly appreciative of facts — was after all quite a different chap.

As for the rest, I can only repeat about the book what I repeatedly said about the articles when they appeared in the *Neue Zeit*;⁶⁹ it is by far the best presentation in existence of the genesis of the Prussian state. Indeed, I may well say that

it is the only good presentation, correctly developing in most matters their interconnections down to the very details. One regrets only that you were unable to include the entire further development down to Bismarck and one cannot help hoping that you will do this another time and present a complete coherent picture, from the Elector Frederick William down to old William.* For you have already made the preliminary investigations and, in the main at least, they are as good as finished. The thing has to be done sometime anyhow before the shaky old shanty comes tumbling down. The dissipation of the monarchical-patriotic legends, although not really a necessary precondition for the abolition of the monarchy which is a screen for class domination (for a *pure*, bourgeois republic in Germany has been made obsolete by events before it has come into existence) is nevertheless one of the most effective levers for that purpose.

Then you will also have more space and opportunity to depict the local history of Prussia as part of Germany's general misery. This is the point where I occasionally depart somewhat from your view, especially in the conception of the preliminary conditions for the dismemberment of Germany and of the failure of the bourgeois revolution in Germany during the sixteenth century. If I get down to reworking the historical introduction to my *Peasant War*, which I hope I shall do next winter, I shall be able to develop there the points in question.⁷⁰ Not that I consider those you indicated to be incorrect, but I put others alongside them and group them somewhat differently.

In studying German history — the story of a continuous state of wretchedness — I have always found that only a com-

* William I. — *Ed.*

parison with the corresponding French periods produces a correct idea of proportions, because what happens there is the direct opposite of what happens in our country. There, the establishment of a national state from the scattered parts of the feudal state precisely at the time we pass through the period of our greatest decline. There, a rare objective logic during the whole course of the process; with us, increasingly dreary desultoriness. There, during the Middle Ages, the English conqueror, who intervenes in favour of the Provençal nationality against the Northern French nationality, represents foreign intervention, and the wars with England represent, in a way, the Thirty Years' War, which there, however, ends in the ejection of the foreign invaders and the subjugation of the South by the North. Then comes the struggle between the central power and Burgundy, the vassal, which relies on its foreign possessions, and plays the part of Brandenburg-Prussia, a struggle which ends, however, in the victory of the central power and conclusively establishes the national state.⁷¹ And precisely at that moment the national state completely collapses in our country (in so far as the "German kingdom" within the Holy Roman Empire can be called a national state) and the plundering of German territory on a large scale sets in. This comparison is most humiliating for Germans but for that very reason the more instructive; and since our workers have put Germany back again in the forefront of the historical movement it has become somewhat easier for us to swallow the ignominy of the past.

Another especially significant feature of the development of Germany is the fact that not one of the two member states which in the end partitioned Germany between them was purely German — both were colonies on conquered Slav territory: Austria a Bavarian and Brandenburg a Saxon colony

— and that they acquired power *within* Germany only by relying upon the support of foreign, non-German possessions: Austria upon that of Hungary (not to mention Bohemia) and Brandenburg that of Prussia. On the Western border, the one in greatest jeopardy, nothing of the kind took place; on the Northern border it was left to the Danes to protect Germany against the Danes; and in the South there was so little to protect that the frontier guard, the Swiss, even succeeded in tearing themselves loose from Germany!

But I am speaking of all kinds of extraneous matter, let this palaver at least serve you as proof of how stimulating an effect your work has upon me.

Once more cordial thanks and greetings from

Yours,
F. Engels

ENGELS TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON

London, October 17, 1893

. . . Many thanks for the copies of the Очерки,* — three of which I have forwarded to appreciative friends. The book, I am glad to see, has caused considerable stir and indeed sensation, as it well merited. Among the Russians I have met, it was the chief subject of conversation. Only yesterday one of them** writes: у нас на Руси идёт спор о "судьбах капитализма в России."*** In the Berlin *Sozialpolitische Centralblatt*†72 a Mr. P. B. Struve has a long article on your book†† I must agree with him in this one point, that for me, too, the present capitalistic phase of development

* Danielson (Nikolai-on), *Essays on Our National Economy Since the Reform.* — Ed.

** Iosif Petrovich Goldenberg. — Ed.

*** Here in Russia a controversy is going on about "the fate of capitalism in Russia." — Ed.

† Third year of the publication, No. 1, October 1, 1893. — Note by Engels.

†† P. B. Struve, *Zur Beurteilung der kapitalistischen Entwicklung Russlands (On the Development of Capitalism in Russia).* — Ed.

ENGELS TO N. F. DANIELSON, OCTOBER 17, 1893

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in Russia appears an unavoidable consequence of the historical conditions as created by the Crimean War, the way in which the change of 1861 in agrarian conditions was accomplished, and the political stagnation in Europe generally. Where he is decidedly wrong, is in comparing the present state of Russia with that of the United States, in order to refute what he calls your pessimistic views of the future. He says, the evil consequences of modern capitalism in Russia will be as easily overcome as they are in the United States. There he quite forgets that the U.S. are modern, bourgeois, from the very origin; that they were founded by *petits bourgeois* and peasants who ran away from European feudalism in order to establish a purely bourgeois society. Whereas in Russia, we have a groundwork of a primitive communistic character, a pre-civilization *Gentilgesellschaft*,* crumbling ruins, it is true, but still serving as the groundwork, the material upon which the capitalistic revolution (for it is a real social revolution) acts and operates. In America, *Geldwirtschaft*** has been fully established for more than a century, in Russia, *Naturalwirtschaft**** was all but exclusively the rule. Therefore it stands to reason that the change, in Russia, must be far more violent, far more incisive, and accompanied by immensely greater sufferings than it can be in America.

But for all that it still seems to me that you take a gloomier view of the case than the facts justify. No doubt, the passage from primitive agrarian communism to capitalistic industrialism cannot take place without terrible dislocation of society, without the disappearance of whole classes and their transfor-

* Gentile society. — Ed.

** Money economy. — Ed.

*** Natural economy. — Ed.

mation into other classes; and what enormous suffering, and waste of human lives and productive forces that necessarily implies, we have seen — on a smaller scale — in Western Europe. But from that to the complete ruin of a great and highly gifted nation there is still a long way. The rapid increase of population to which you have been accustomed, may be checked; the reckless deforestation combined with the expropriation of the old помещики* as well as the peasants may cause a colossal waste of productive forces; but after all, a population of more than a hundred million will finally furnish a very considerable home market for a very respectable *grande industrie*, and with you as elsewhere, things will end by finding their own level — if capitalism lasts long enough in Western Europe.

You yourself admit that

"the social conditions in Russia after the Crimean War were not favourable to the development of the form of production inherited by us from our past history."

I would go further and say, that no more in Russia than anywhere else would it have been possible to develop a higher social form out of primitive agrarian communism unless — that higher form was *already in existence* in another country, so as to serve as a model. That higher form being, wherever it is historically possible, the necessary consequence of the capitalistic form of production and of the social dualistic antagonism created by it, it could not be developed directly out of the agrarian commune, unless in imitation of an example already in existence somewhere else. Had the West of Europe been ripe, 1860-70, for such a transformation, had that transformation then been taken in hand in England,

* Landlords. — Ed.

France, etc., then the Russians would have been called upon to show what could have been made out of their Commune, which was then more or less intact. But the West remained stagnant, no such transformation was attempted, and capitalism was more and more rapidly developed. And as Russia had no choice but this: either to develop the Commune into a form of production from which it was separated by a number of historical stages, and for which not even in the West the conditions were then ripe — evidently an impossible task — or else to develop into Capitalism, what remained to her but the latter chance?

As to the Commune, it is only possible so long as the differences of wealth among its members are but trifling. As soon as these differences become great, as soon as some of its members become the debt-slaves of the richer members, it can no longer live. The кулаки and мироеды* of Athens, before Solon, destroyed the Athenian *gens* with the same implacability with which those of your country destroy the Commune. I am afraid that institution is doomed. But on the other hand, capitalism opens up new views and new hopes. Look at what it has done and is doing in the West. A great nation like yours outlives every crisis. There is no great historical evil without a compensating historical progress. Only the *modus operandi* is changed. *Que les destinées s'accomplissent!***

Yours ever,

* Big peasants and village exploiters. — Ed.

** May destiny take its course! — Ed.

ENGELS TO W. BORGIUS⁷³

London, January 25, 1894

Dear Sir,

Here is the answer to your questions:

1. By economic relations, which we regard as the determining basis of the history of society, we understand the manner in which men in a given society produce their means of subsistence and exchange the products (in so far as division of labour exists). They comprise therefore the *entire technique* of production and transport. According to our conception this technique also determines the mode of exchange and, furthermore, of the distribution of products and hence, after the dissolution of gentile society, also the division into classes, and consequently the relations of lordship and servitude and consequently the state, politics, law, etc. The economic relations comprise also the *geographical basis* on which they operate and those remnants of earlier stages of economic development which have been actually transmitted and have survived — often only as a result of tradition or

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inertia; and of course also the external environment which surrounds this form of society.

If, as you say, technique largely depends on the state of science, science depends far more still on the *state* and the *requirements* of technique. If society has a technical need, that advances science more than ten universities. The whole of hydrostatics (Torricelli, etc.) was called forth by the necessity for regulating the mountain streams of Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only since the technical applicability of electricity was discovered do we know anything rational about it. But unfortunately it is customary in Germany to write the history of the sciences as if they had fallen from the skies.

2. We regard economic conditions as that which ultimately determines historical development. But race is itself an economic factor. In this context, however, two points must not be overlooked:

a) Political, legal, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development. But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic basis. One must think that the economic situation is *cause*, and *solely active*, whereas everything else is only passive effect. On the contrary, interaction takes place on the basis of economic necessity, which *ultimately* always asserts itself. The state, for instance, exercises an influence by protective tariffs, free trade, good or bad fiscal system; and even the extreme debility and impotence of the German philistine, arising from the wretched economic condition of Germany from 1648 to 1830 and expressing themselves at first in pietism, then in sentimentality and cringing servility to princes and nobles, were not without economic effect. That was one of the greatest obstacles to recovery and was not shaken until the revolution-

ary and Napoleonic wars made the chronic misery an acute one. The economic situation therefore does not produce an automatic effect as people try here and there conveniently to imagine, but men make their history themselves, they do so however in a given environment, which conditions them, and on the basis of actual, already existing relations, among which the economic relations — however much they may be influenced by other, political and ideological, relations — are still ultimately the decisive ones, forming the keynote which alone leads to understanding.

b) Men make their history themselves, but not as yet with a collective will according to a collective plan or even in a clearly defined given society. Their aspirations clash, and for that very reason all such societies are governed by *necessity*, whose complement and manifestation is *accident*. The necessity which here asserts itself through all accident is again ultimately economic necessity. In this connection one has to deal with the so-called great men. That such and such a man and precisely that man arises at a particular time in a particular country is, of course, pure chance. But if one eliminates him there is a demand for a substitute, and this substitute will be found, good or bad, but in the long run he will be found. That Napoleon, just that particular Corsican, should have been the military dictator whom the French Republic, exhausted by its own warfare, had rendered necessary, was chance; but that, if a Napoleon had been lacking, another would have filled the place, is proved by the fact that a man was always found as soon as he became necessary: Caesar, Augustus, Cromwell, etc. While Marx discovered the materialist conception of history, Thierry, Mignet, Guizot and all the English historians up to 1850 are evidence that it was being striven for, and the discovery of the same conception by

Morgan proves that the time was ripe for it and that it simply *had* to be discovered.

So with all the other contingencies, and apparent contingencies, of history. The further the particular sphere which we are investigating is removed from the economic sphere and approaches that of pure abstract ideology, the more shall we find it exhibiting accidents in its development, the more will its curve run zigzag. But if you plot the average axis of the curve, you will find that this axis will run more and more nearly parallel to the axis of economic development the longer the period considered and the wider the field dealt with.

In Germany the greatest hindrance to correct understanding is the irresponsible neglect by literature of economic history. It is very difficult not only to rid oneself of the historical notions drilled into one at school but still more to take up the necessary material for doing so. Who, for instance, has read even old G. von Gülich, whose dry collection of material* nevertheless contains so much stuff for the clarification of innumerable political facts!

By the way, the fine example which Marx has given in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* should, I think, provide a fairly good answer to your questions, precisely because it is a practical example. It seems to me moreover that I have already touched on most of the points in *Anti-Dühring* I, chs. 9-11, and II, 2-4, as well as in III, 1, or Introduction, and also in the last section of *Feuerbach*.

* G. Gülich, *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels, der Gewerbe und des Ackerbaus der bedeutendsten handelsestreibenden Staaten unserer Zeit* (*Historical Description of Trade, Industry and Agriculture of the Most Important Commercial States of Our Time*). — Ed.

Please do not weigh each word in the above too scrupulously, but keep the general connection in mind; I regret that I have not the time to word what I am writing to you as exactly as I should be obliged to do for publication. . . .

NOTES

¹ Commenting on the book by Proudhon, P. V. Annenkov wrote in a letter to Marx dated November 1, 1846: "I must say that the plan of the work itself appears to me to be rather a mental game by a man who knows only a bit of German philosophy than something flowing naturally from the subject and the necessities of its logical development." p. 1

² Here Marx refers to his intended work *A Critique of Politics and Political Economy*. Marx started to study political economy at the end of 1843, and in the spring of 1844 set himself the task of writing press criticisms of bourgeois political economy from the materialist and communist standpoint. Only parts of his manuscripts of that time have survived — the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. In order to write *The Holy Family* he temporarily halted his study of political economy, not resuming it until December 1844. Numerous outlines, excerpts and notes that he made in 1845-46 in studying works by British, French and other economists have been preserved. But his plan for the resultant work was never realized. In February 1847 the publisher Leske cancelled the contract that Marx had signed with him on February 1, 1845 for the publication of *A Critique of Politics and Political Economy* in two volumes. p. 16

³ *People's Paper* — a Chartist weekly founded in London in May 1832 by Ernest Jones, one of the revolutionary Chartist leaders and friend of Marx and Engels. From October 1832 until December 1836 Marx and Engels contributed to this paper and also helped with its editing. Besides the articles Marx and Engels wrote for it especially, it also reprinted their most important articles published in *The New York*

Daily Tribune. At that time the *People's Paper* defended the interests of the working class and propagated socialist ideas. Marx and Engels ceased to contribute to the paper, and for a time broke off relations with Jones when he began to associate with bourgeois radicals. In June 1858 the *People's Paper* fell into the hands of the bourgeois entrepreneurs.

p. 19

⁴ The minutes of Marx's speech were published by the editorial board of the *People's Paper* on April 19, 1856.

p. 19

⁵ Marx refers to A. Willich and K. Schapper, the two former members of the Communist League's Central Committee who headed a sectarian and adventurist faction in the Communist League. In September 1850 a split occurred as a result of acute ideological differences regarding the tactics to be followed during the period of reaction then setting in. The dissenting minority, mustered by the Willich-Schapper faction, was supported by several members of the London section of the Communist League and the majority of the London German Workers' Educational Association (This organization was founded in London in February, 1840, by K. Schapper, J. Moll and other members of the League of the Just. After the founding of the Communist League, its section had played the leading role in the Association). Because most members of the Association supported the Willich-Schapper faction, Marx and Engels, who had participated in the Educational Association's work in 1847 and 1849-50, resigned from it on September 17, 1850 and only at the end of the fifties re-established relations with it.

In the 1850s the office of the German Workers' Educational Association was in Windmill Street, Soho, London.

p. 20

⁶ *The Mainz Clubbists* — the Club of the Friends of Freedom and Equality which was set up, on the model of the French Jacobin Club, following the occupation of Mainz by the French army in October 1792. The Club called for the abolition of feudal burdens and the establishment of a republic. In February 1793, elections were held and the Rhenish-German National Assembly was summoned. The Assembly enacted a decree abolishing the numerous ecclesiastic and secular princely titles and declared Mainz together with its surroundings a republic.

In March 1793 the Assembly proclaimed the incorporation of Mainz into France. The Mainz Clubbists were accused of "treason of the fatherland" not only by the reactionary aristocrats but also by the bourgeois forces. The Club and the Assembly also failed to win the indispensable support of the peasants and handicraftsmen. A decree of the French National Assembly did abolish feudal dependence, the

privileges of the nobility and the clergy and the previous levies and taxes, but it required at the same time that contributions be made to France. This was an essential reason for discontent amongst the peasants and handicraftsmen.

After the seizure of Mainz by the Prussian army in July 1793, which put an end to the Mainz Republic, the members of the Mainz Club were imprisoned and cruelly treated. p. 20

⁷ This refers apparently to W. Bötticher's *Geschichte der Karthager* (*History of Carthage*), Berlin, 1827. It mainly deals with the military history of Carthage. p. 22

⁸ N. Machiavelli, *Historie fiorentine* (*History of Florence*); the first edition appeared in Rome and Florence in 1532.

Condottieri — heads of mercenary troops in Italy in the 14th and 15th centuries. p. 22

⁹ It was probably around September 30, 1857 that Marx met Engels in Brighton. p. 22

¹⁰ *Nordstern* (*Northern Star*) — German weekly published in Hamburg in 1860-66; from 1863 it became a Lassallean journal. p. 24

¹¹ *Social-Demokrat* — the organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers, published under this title in Berlin from December 15, 1864 to 1871; Johann Baptist Schweitzer was its editor from 1864 to 1867. p. 24

¹² The author's own German translation of the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" was published in *Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 2 and 3, December 21 and 30, 1864. Marx made some revisions in his translation. p. 24

¹³ On November 11, 1864, J. B. Schweitzer and W. Liebknecht wrote to Marx asking him to contribute to *Social-Demokrat* which was then being set up as the organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers. Marx and Engels received the prospectus of the newspaper which contained no Lassallean theses and agreed to contribute to it, because they had no other organ at their disposal to influence the German workers' movement. W. Liebknecht worked as unofficial editor of the organ. The journal published Marx's "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" and "On Proudhon" as well as Engels' translation of the old Danish folk song "Herr Tidmann." But Marx and Engels had to make repeated criticisms of the newspaper's orientation. Later it was proved that the newspaper's editor, Schweitzer, had adopted the Lassallean policy of

favouring the Bismarck government and the Junkers and tried to spread blind faith in Lassalle, so Marx and Engels, on February 23, 1865, declared an end to their contact with the newspaper. Immediately following them, W. Liebknecht also withdrew from his editorship. p. 24

- ¹⁴ In his letter to Marx, dated before January 20, 1865, W. Liebknecht informed him that Lassalle had taken the road of compromise with the government of Bismarck and had promised the latter that the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein by Prussia would be given support by the General Association of German Workers on the condition that Bismarck promise to introduce universal suffrage. Marx and Engels regarded Lassalle's political "testament" as a betrayal of the proletariat. The correspondence between Lassalle and Bismarck published in 1928 confirmed the information given by Liebknecht. p. 24

- ¹⁵ *The National Association* was set up on September 15-16, 1859, at a conference of bourgeois liberals from the German states held in Frankfurt-on-Main. Its purpose was the unification of all German states except Austria under Prussian leadership. It disbanded itself on November 11, 1867, after the Austro-Prussian War and the creation of the North German Confederation. p. 25

- ¹⁶ When Prince Wilhelm of Prussia (who was to ascend the throne in 1861) became Regent in October 1858 he dismissed the ministry headed by Manteuffel and asked the moderate liberals to form a government. This policy was hailed in the bourgeois press as a "new era." In fact Wilhelm's measures were aimed exclusively at strengthening the position of the Prussian monarchy and of the Junkers. Greatly disappointed, the bourgeoisie refused to vote in parliament for military reforms proposed by the government. The ensuing constitutional conflict and Bismarck's coming to power in September 1862 marked the end of the "new era." p. 25

- ¹⁷ The term "Prussian lead" ("*preussische Spitze*") was used by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia in his speech of March 20, 1848. He declared in his lecture that he was determined to stand "at the head (*an die Spitze*) of the whole motherland" to "save Germany." In the period of Germany's unification this term was used for Prussia's attempt to unify the entire country under her leadership. p. 25

- ¹⁸ *Marquis Posa* — one of the main characters in Schiller's tragedy *Don Carlos*. As a high-minded court official with liberal ideas, he tries to influence the tyrant. Philip II is another main character in the drama. "Philip II of the Uckermark" is an allusion to Wilhelm I. p. 25

- ¹⁹ *Kreuz-Zeitung* (*Gazette of the Cross*) — a name used for the German daily the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (*New Prussian Gazette*), because its masthead bore a cross, the emblem of the Landwehr, or military reserves. Published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939, it was the organ of the counter-revolutionary court camarilla and the Prussian Junkers; later, it became the organ of the ultra-Right wing of the conservatives.

p. 26

- ²⁰ *The General Association of German Workers* — a political organization of the German workers founded on May 23, 1863, at a conference of workers' societies in Leipzig. From the outset it was strongly influenced by Lassalle and his followers, who tried to lead the workers along the reformist road. Its aims were restricted to a fight for universal suffrage and to peaceful parliamentary activity. While rejecting the day-to-day economic struggle of the working class, it advocated the formation of producers' co-operative societies with state aid, regarding them as the basic means for resolving social contradictions. On foreign policy, the Lassallean leadership of the Association adopted a nationalistic stand and therefore supported the Prussian government's reactionary policy and the unification of Germany from above by means of dynastic war.

With the establishment of the International Working Men's Association, the opportunist tactics of the Lassallean leadership within the Association became an obstacle to founding a genuine workers' party in Germany. Thanks to Marx and Engels' consistent struggle against Lassalleanism, the advanced German workers turned their backs on it in the early seventies. At the Gotha Congress held in May 1875 the General Association of German Workers united with the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers), formed in 1869 and led by Bebel and Liebknecht. The united party was named the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.

pp. 26, 53

- ²¹ *The Progressives* — members of the Prussian bourgeois Progressive Party which was formed in June 1861. The party demanded Germany's unification under Prussian leadership, the convocation of an all-German parliament and the formation of a strong liberal government responsible to the chamber of deputies. Fearing the working class and hating the socialist movement, the Progressive Party accepted the ascendancy of the Prussian Junkers in a semi-absolute German monarchy. This party's political vacillations reflected the uncertain stand of the strata upon which it relied — the commercial bourgeoisie, small manufacturers and a section of the artisans.

p. 27

²² *The International Working Men's Association*, known as the First International, was formed by Marx in the autumn of 1864. Headed by Marx and Engels, it guided the economic and political struggles of the workers of different countries, fought vigorously against Proudhonism, Bakuninism, trade-unionism, Lassalleanism and other anti-Marxist trends, and strengthened the international solidarity of the workers. After the Hague Congress of the First International in 1872 it virtually ceased to exist and in 1876 declared itself dissolved. The historical importance of the First International is, as Lenin put it, that it "laid the foundation of the international organization of the workers in order to prepare for their revolutionary onslaught on capital."

pp. 27, 40, 44, 55, 58, 69

²³ *Rules Governing Servants (Gesindeordnung)* is an ironic name Marx gave to the producers' regulations then operative in Prussia, which prohibited workers' associations and strikes, and the laws of 1854 in connection with rules of the serfs' rights.

The so-called Rules Governing Servants were feudal rules of the Prussian provinces in the 18th century; they sanctioned the arbitrary treatment of the serfs by the Junkers.

p. 27

²⁴ Marx refers to the third article in Schweitzer's series on the Bismarck government, published in the *Social-Demokrat*, No. 23, of February 17, 1865, that is after Marx had called upon Schweitzer to end his flirtations with Bismarck. In these articles Schweitzer openly supported Bismarck's policy of unifying Germany by "blood and iron."

p. 27

²⁵ On January 12, 1861, following Wilhelm I's accession to the throne, Prussia proclaimed an amnesty and permitted political refugees to "return to the Prussian states unhindered." In spring of 1861, while in Berlin, Marx made an attempt to reinstate his Prussian citizenship, but was refused by the Prussian authorities on the pretext that in 1845 he had "voluntarily" abandoned it and "therefore" could be regarded "only as a foreigner."

p. 28

²⁶ On February 23, 1865 a meeting of supporters of electoral reform, held at St. Martin's Hall in London on the initiative of the General Council of the International and with its active participation, resolved to found the Reform League which became the political leading centre of the workers' mass movement for the Second Reform. Members of the General Council, chiefly those who were leaders of British trade unions, took part in the leading organs of the League, its Council and Executive Committee. The programme of the reform movement headed by the League, and its tactics towards the bourgeois parties, were worked

out under the direct influence of Marx who strove for a British working-class policy independent of those parties. As against the bourgeois demand for the extension of voting rights only to home-owners and renters of separate houses, the Reform League, on Marx's insistence, put forward the demand for a universal franchise embracing the entire adult male population. This Chartist slogan, revived by the International, drew a wide response from the ranks of the British working class and secured for the League the support of the hitherto politically indifferent trade unions. The League had a network of branches in all Britain's big industrial cities as well as in the provinces. However, due to the vacillation of bourgeois radicals among the League's leadership, who were frightened by the mass movement, and the conciliationism of the opportunist trade-union leaders, the League could not implement the line laid down by the General Council; the British bourgeoisie was able to split the movement and in 1867 a miserable reform was put through, which gave voting rights only to the petty bourgeoisie and the upper level of the working class, leaving its main mass without political rights as before. pp. 28, 31

²⁷ *The Geneva Congress* of the First International was held September 3-8, 1866. Attending were 60 delegates representing the General Council and the different sections of the International, as well as workers' societies in England, France, Germany and Switzerland. Hermann Jung was in the chair. Marx's "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council. The Different Questions" was read at this congress as the General Council's official report. The Proudhonists, who commanded one-third of the congress votes, counterposed to Marx's "Instructions" a comprehensive programme covering all the agenda items. However, supporters of the General Council won out on most of the questions discussed. The congress adopted as resolutions six of the nine points in the "Instructions," dealing with the united action of the international forces; legislative introduction of the eight-hour working day; women's and child labour; co-operative labour, trade unions, and standing armies. The Geneva Congress also approved the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association. p. 30

²⁸ *The American Workers' Congress* was convened in Baltimore on August 20-25, 1866. Present were 60 delegates representing 60,000 workers in the trade unions. It discussed legislation for the eight-hour working day, workers' political activities, co-operative societies, admission of

all the workers into the trade unions, strikes, housing and so on. It passed the decision to set up the National Labour Union. p. 31

²⁹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book Two. p. 31

³⁰ Marx refers to the review signed by "H," "Marx, Karl, das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Critique of Political Economy)." It appeared in *Centralblatt*, No. 28, pp. 754-56, July 4, 1868.

Centralblatt, i.e., *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland* (*Central Literary Review for Germany*), a German scientific-information and critical weekly published in Leipzig from 1850 to 1944. p. 33

³¹ Marx refers to the first chapter ("Commodities and Money") in the first German edition of *Capital*, Vol. I. In the second and the following German editions of this volume, Part I corresponds to this chapter. p. 33

³² On June 13, 1849, the petty-bourgeois party of Montagnards organized a peaceful demonstration in Paris to protest against the sending of French troops to Italy to suppress the Italian revolution, an act violating the Constitution of the French Republic which prohibited the sending of French forces to other countries to interfere with the freedom of foreign peoples. The demonstration was dispersed by armed force. Its failure testified to the bankruptcy of French petty-bourgeois democracy. Beginning June 13, the French authorities launched persecutions of democrats, including foreigners living in France. p. 38

³³ *Mutualists* — this is what the Proudhonists called themselves in the 1860s. They put forward a reformist petty-bourgeois plan of liberating the working people by organizing mutual aid (co-operatives, mutual-aid societies, etc.). p. 41

³⁴ *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste* (*The Alliance of Socialist Democracy*) — an international organization of anarchists founded by M. Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868. The Alliance, which included Bakunin's secret conspiratorial league had its sections in the industrially underdeveloped regions of Italy, Spain, Switzerland and the south of France. In 1869 the Alliance applied to the General Council of the First International for membership, to which the General Council agreed on the condition that the Alliance should dissolve itself. Having joined the International, Bakunin did not in fact act upon the decision but wormed the Alliance into the International, under the guise of its Geneva section, while preserving its own name. He resorted to open and secret sabotage within the International in an attempt to subordi-

nate the international workers' movement to his leadership. The anarchists rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of founding an independent workers' party of a mass character; their policy would have led the workers' movement into submission to the bourgeoisie. Marx and Engels as well as the General Council carried on a firm struggle against the Alliance, exposing it as a faction hostile to the workers' movement which it sought to split and distract from the road of independent development. At the Hague Congress of the First International (1872) the Bakuninists were given a fatal blow and Bakunin and Guillaume, the chieftains of the Alliance, were expelled from the International. Marxism won the ideological and organizational struggle against the petty-bourgeois sectarian socialism that had existed prior to Marxism. pp. 41, 46

³⁵ The reference is to the following resolutions of the London Conference of 1871: "Designations of National Councils, etc." (Resolution II, clauses 1,2,3), "Political Action of the Working Class" (Resolution IX), "The Alliance of Socialist Democracy" (Resolution XVI), and "Split in the French-Speaking Part of Switzerland" (Resolution XVII). p. 42

³⁶ The reference is to Bakunin's attempt to secure, at the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom, a bourgeois-pacifist organization, held in Berne in September 1868, the adoption of the muddled socialist programme he had drawn up (the "social and economic equalization of classes," the abolition of the state and the right of inheritance, etc.). When Bakunin's draft was rejected by majority vote, he and a handful of others withdrew from the League and founded the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, an open organization. The programme of the Alliance was based on the aforesaid draft. p. 44

³⁷ The reference is to the Basle resolutions on organizational questions adopted at the Basle Congress of the International held September 6-11, 1869. The resolutions extended the rights of the General Council. Resolution 5 granted the General Council the right to admit or refuse affiliation of any new branch or group; Resolution 6 granted it the right to suspend any branch from the International till the meeting of the next congress. After the London Conference of 1871 these resolutions were contained in the organizational regulations of the International, which were under attack by the Bakuninists. p. 46

³⁸ *Il Proletario* (*Proletariat*) — an Italian newspaper published in Turin from 1872 to 1874; it favoured the Bakuninists and opposed the resolutions of the General Council and the London Conference.

Gazzettino Rosa (*Red Gazette*) — an Italian daily published in Milan

from 1867 to 1873. It took the side of the Paris Commune from 1871 to 1872, carrying the International's reports and documents; but from 1872 onwards it was dominated by Bakuninists. p. 46

³⁹ *La Liberté (Liberty)* — a Belgian democratic newspaper published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873; from 1867, one of the press organs of the International in Belgium. p. 48

⁴⁰ *The French Section of 1871* was formed by French refugees in London in September 1871. Its leaders established close contacts with the Bakuninists in Switzerland and, in agreement with them, attacked the organizational principles of the International. In 1871, the rules of the French Section were published in its organ *Qui Vive!* At an extraordinary session of the General Council held on October 14, 1871, the rules were submitted to a commission of the General Council for examination. At the meeting of October 17, Marx made a report on the Section's rules and put forward a draft resolution that was unanimously approved by the General Council. The resolution pointed out that some of these rules were contrary to the General Rules of the International, making it difficult for it to enter the International, and the suggestion was made that the Section revise them to conform with the General Rules. In its letter of October 31 the Section disagreed with the General Council's resolution, attacked the General Council and challenged its rights in general. This reply, having been discussed by the commission, was submitted to the General Council for discussion. Serrailier, the Corresponding Secretary for France, moved the draft resolution worked out by Marx, which was approved unanimously by the General Council. Afterwards, the Section split into several groups. p. 48

⁴¹ This refers to "Circular to All Federations of the International Working Men's Association" adopted at the Congress of the Bakunist Jura Federation held in Sonvillier on November 12, 1871. Opposing the General Council and the London Conference of 1871, the circular countered the conference decisions with the anarchist dogmas of abstention from politics and the full autonomy of each section, and contained slanderous attacks on the actions of the General Council. The Bakunist circular suggested that all the federations demand the immediate convocation of a congress to revise the General Rules of the International and censure the General Council. p. 49

⁴² *Federazione Operaia (Workers' Federation)*, set up in Turin in the autumn of 1871, was influenced by the followers of Mazzini. In January 1872 the proletarian members left it and formed a new society

called the Liberation of the Proletariat which later became a section of the International. Up to February 1872 the society was headed by Terzaghi, a secret police agent. p. 50

- ⁴³ *Ficcanaso (Busybody)* — a satirical daily of the Italian Republicans. It was the organ of the Left Mazzinists, published in Turin in 1868-72. p. 50

- ⁴⁴ *La Révolution Sociale (Social Revolution)* — a weekly published in Geneva from October 1871 to January 1872; after November 1871 it became the official organ of the Bakuninist Jura Federation.

L'Égalité (Equality) — a Swiss weekly, organ of the Romanic Federation of the International, published in French in Geneva from December 1868 to December 1872. From November 1869 to January 1870, Bakunin, Perron, Paul Robin and their likes, working on the editorial board, tried to use the paper against the General Council of the International. The Council of the Romanic federation, however, reorganized the editorial board, removing the Bakuninists from their posts. After this, *L'Égalité* began to support the policy of the General Council. p. 50

- ⁴⁵ *Der Volksstaat (The People's State)* — central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers), published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869, to September 29, 1876, twice weekly at first, then three times a week from July 1873 onward. The journal represented the viewpoint of the revolutionaries in the German working-class movement and was therefore subjected to frequent persecution by the government and police. As the editors were arrested from time to time, the editorial board membership was always changing, but the leadership of the paper remained in the hands of Wilhelm Liebknecht. August Bebel, its managing director, also played a prominent role. As contributors to the journal from its founding, Marx and Engels constantly helped the editorial board and corrected the guiding line of *Der Volksstaat*, which remained one of the best working-class papers of the 1870s.

On October 1, 1876, by the decision of the Gotha Congress of the same year, *Der Volksstaat* and the *Neuer Social-Demokrat (New Social-Democrat)* were fused into the *Vorwärts (Forward)*. On October 27, 1878, after the enforcement of the Anti-Socialist Law, the *Vorwärts* ceased publication. pp. 50, 56

- ⁴⁶ The Saxon Regional Meeting of the German Social-Democratic Party was held in Chemnitz on January 6-7, 1872. It was attended by 120 delegates, including Bebel and Liebknecht, representing more than 50 local organizations. It discussed the attitude to be taken by the work-

ers' party towards universal suffrage and the organization of trade unions. It also discussed in closed session the position to be taken towards the Sonvillier Circular (see Note 41) and towards the anti-anarchist struggle within the International. The meeting unanimously supported the General Council and endorsed the resolutions of the 1871 London Conference. In a letter to Engels on January 10, 1872, Liebknecht informed him of this decision, saying that the meeting "went off excellently. . . . At a secret session of the delegates it was decided unanimously to stand by you in the fight against the Bakuninists, and I have a specific order to inform you of this. . . ." On January 23, 1872, Marx informed the General Council of the meeting's decision. p. 50

⁴⁷ *The Congress of the Belgian Federation of the International*, met in Brussels on December 24-25, 1871. In its discussion on the Sonvillier Circular, it did not support the Swiss anarchists' demand for immediate convocation of a general congress but instructed the Council of the Belgian Federation to prepare the new draft Rules of the International Working Men's Association. A brief report on the congress was published in *L'Internationale*, No. 155, December 31, 1871, under the title "The Belgian Workers' Congress." p. 50

⁴⁸ *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (*New Social-Democrat*) was the organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers, appearing three times a week in Berlin from 1871 to 1876. Its line faithfully reflected the Lassallean policy of accommodation to the Bismarck regime and propitiation of the German ruling classes, as well as the Lassallean leadership's opportunism and nationalism. Taking a sectarian stand, it consistently opposed the International and the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, and supported the hostile activities of the Bakuninists and other anti-proletarian elements against the General Council of the International. pp. 51, 57

⁴⁹ In 1869, S. G. Nechayev, after establishing links with Bakunin, was active in founding a conspiratorial organization called "People's Vengeance" in several Russian towns. Anarchist ideas of "absolute destruction" were preached in the circles he organized. Attracted by their attacks on the Tsarist autocracy and their calls to fight vigorously against Tsarism, revolutionary-minded young students and commoners of various strata joined them. Making use of a "mandate" from Bakunin to represent the "Revolutionary Alliance of Europe," Nechayev tried to present himself as a representative of the International, deluding his followers.

When Nechayev's organization was smashed and its members were put on trial in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1871, the adventurist methods he had used for his ends became publicly known. Nechayev, fleeing abroad, spread false rumours orally and in print that he had been arrested but fled on the way to exile, and that there was a secret order to have him killed.

In accordance with a decision of the 1871 London Conference, Marx wrote a declaration stating that the International Working Men's Association had nothing to do with the so-called Nechayev conspiracy.

p. 51

⁵⁰ *The German Social-Democratic Workers' Party* — an independent revolutionary party (later known as the Eisenachers or the Eisenach party) founded at the General German Social-Democratic Workers' Congress held at Eisenach on August 7-9, 1869 and attended by German, Austrian and Swiss Social-Democrats. The Eisenach Programme adhered in general to Marxist principles, although there was also some Lassalleian influence. The congress in Eisenach "helped provide a sound basis for a genuinely Social-Democratic workers' party." (See Lenin, *Collected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1963, Vol. 19, p. 298.)

p. 53

⁵¹ Engels refers to *the Hague Congress of the International Working Men's Association* held between September 2 and 7, 1872. As compared with several previous congresses, it was the most broadly representative. The 65 delegates from 15 national organizations attending included Marx and Engels, who directed its entire work. This congress marked the culmination of the struggle which Marx, Engels and their comrades-in-arms had waged for many years against various kinds of petty-bourgeois sectarianism in the working-class movement. It condemned the splitting activities of the anarchists and expelled their leader Bakunin from the International. The decisions of the Hague Congress paved the way for the founding of independent political parties of the working class in a number of countries.

pp. 55, 59

⁵² Sorge resigned from the General Council in August 1874, and informed Engels of this on August 14, 1874; his official resignation followed on September 25, 1874.

p. 58

⁵³ The circular letter, which Marx and Engels wrote on September 17-18, 1879 and sent to A. Bebel, was intended for the whole leadership of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, and was therefore in the nature of a Party document. This was confirmed by the content of the letter and a statement made by Marx and Engels. In a letter to F. A. Sorge of September 19, 1879, Marx called it a circular letter

"for private circulation among the German Party leaders." On the basis of the correspondence of Marx and Engels, V. I. Lenin (to whom the text of the letter was still unknown) also called the exposition by Marx and Engels of their views and the Party position in relation to the opportunism that had appeared in the Party "a circular letter [addressed] directly to Bebel, Liebknecht and other leaders of the Social-Democratic Party" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 366). It was drafted by Engels in the middle of September. On September 17, immediately after Marx's return to London, the draft was discussed and finalized by them jointly.

The letter first appeared in *Die Kommunistische Internationale* (*The Communist International*), twelfth year of publication, No. 23, June 15, 1931. p. 60

- ⁵⁴ The article was written by Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Karl August Schramm and published in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (*Yearbook of Social Science and Social Politics*), first year of publication, No. 1, pp. 75-96, Zurich, 1879.

The *Yearbook* was a social-reformist publication published by K. Höchberg (under the pseudonym of L. Richter) in Zurich from 1879 to 1881; only three issues appeared. p. 60

- ⁵⁵ *The Anti-Socialist Law* was enacted by the Bismarck government with the support of the majority in the Reichstag on October 21, 1878, and was aimed against the socialist and workers' movements. It banned the German Social-Democratic Party; all Party organizations, mass workers' organizations and the socialist and workers' press were outlawed, socialist literature was confiscated and Social-Democrats were persecuted. However, with the active help of Marx and Engels, the Social-Democratic Party overcame the opportunist and "ultra-Left" elements in its ranks and correctly combined illegal with legal activities, enhancing its influence. Under the pressure of the working-class movement, the Anti-Socialist Law was repealed on October 1, 1890. Engels commented on the law in his article *Bismarck and the German Workers' Party* (1881). pp. 63, 73

- ⁵⁶ This refers to the revolutionary fighting on the barricades in Berlin on March 18, 1848, which paved the way for the German Revolution of 1848-49. p. 63

- ⁵⁷ Referring to the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 55). p. 66

- ⁵⁸ *Die Zukunft* (*Future*) — a social-reformist periodical published in Berlin from October 1877 to November 1878 by a group of German Social-

Democrats. K. Höchberg was its publisher. Marx and Engels sharply criticized the periodical, which tried to lead the party along the reformist road.

Die Neue Gesellschaft (*New Society*) — a reformist journal published in Zurich from October 1877 to March 1880; its editor was Franz Wiede.

p. 68

⁵⁹ *Deutsche Worte* (*German Word*) — Austrian economic and socio-political journal, which appeared in Vienna between 1881 and 1904, as a weekly from 1881 to June 1883, and a monthly subsequently.

p. 71

⁶⁰ From June 14 to July 12, 1890, the *Volks-Tribüne* (*People's Tribune*) carried in succession articles by Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, Paul Ernst and Paul Fischer, a letter signed "By a Worker" and the concluding remarks on the discussion — all under the general head "To Each the Entire Produce of His Labour."

Volks-Tribüne was the shortened name of *Berliner Volks-Tribüne. Social-Politisches Wochenblatt*. (*Berlin People's Tribune. Socio-Political Weekly*). Published from 1887 to 1892, it was the organ of the German Social-Democratic Party and was close to the "Young" group, a semi-anarchist opposition group.

p. 72

⁶¹ This refers to the religious reform movement in Germany in the 16th century, led by Martin Luther (see Chapter II of Engels' *The Peasant War in Germany*).

p. 76

⁶² Conrad Schmidt had informed Engels on October 20, 1890, that he had been offered the editorship of the financial page of *Züricher Post*. He accepted the offer, but only for a brief period, taking charge not of the financial page but of the political news report for foreign countries. On June 18, 1891 Conrad Schmidt wrote to Engels that he had left this post.

Züricher Post (*Zurich Post*) — a daily newspaper of the Swiss democrats published from 1879 to 1936.

p. 79

⁶³ Engels refers to having worked in 1842-44 as a clerk in a cotton mill which belonged to the Manchester merchant house of Ermen and Engels.

p. 80

⁶⁴ The *Code Napoléon* in its broad sense, employed here by Engels, includes the Civil Code, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Commercial Code, the Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, which were adopted in 1804-10. In its narrow sense the *Code Napoléon* is the Civil Code adopted in 1804, which Engels called "so classic a legal

code . . . for bourgeois society." (Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, FLP, Peking, 1976, p. 53.) p. 84

⁶⁵ This refers to the coup d'état in England in 1688 which resulted in the overthrow of the Stuart monarchy and the establishment of the constitutional monarchy headed (from 1689) by William of Orange, based on a compromise between the landed aristocrats and the big bourgeoisie. p. 86

⁶⁶ *Deists* — adherents of the religious philosophy that regards god as the impersonal and rational primal cause, but denies his intervention in natural and social phenomena. While the feudal-clerical outlook was dominant, the Deists often took rationalist positions in criticizing mediaeval theological thinking and exposing the parasitism and charlatanism of the clergy. p. 86

⁶⁷ Marx, "The Working Day" and "The So-called Primitive Accumulation," *Capital*, Vol. I. p. 87

⁶⁸ Franz Mehring's article "On Historical Materialism" was printed in 1893 as an appendix to his book *The Lessing Legend*. p. 89

⁶⁹ *Die Neue Zeit* (*New Times*) — theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party, published as a monthly in Stuttgart from 1883 to October 1890, then as a weekly until the autumn of 1923. From 1883 to October 1917 it was edited by K. Kautsky, then by H. Cunow until the autumn of 1923. In 1885-94 Engels published some articles in the journal, frequently made suggestions to its editors and criticized their departures from Marxism. In the late 1890s, after Engels' death, the journal began systematically to print articles by revisionists. During the First World War (1914-18) it took a centrist stand and in fact supported the social-chauvinists. p. 92

⁷⁰ This wish of Engels was not realized. For parts of his articles and outlines that have been preserved, see Marx and Engels, *Works*, Ger. ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, Vol. 21, pp. 392-403. p. 93

⁷¹ The Duchy of Burgundy, which arose in the 9th century in eastern France, comprised areas along the upper courses of the Seine and the Loire, as well as areas subsequently acquired (Franche-Compté, a part of northern France and the Netherlands). In the 14th and 15th centuries Burgundy became an independent feudal state which reached the acme of its power in the second half of the 15th century under Charles the Bold. Seeking to expand its territories, it was an obstacle to the formation of a centralized French monarchy; the Burgundian feudal

nobility, in alliance with the French feudal lords, opposed the centralizing policy of the French King Louis XI and carried on a war of conquest against the Swiss and against Lorraine. Louis XI succeeded in forging an anti-Burgundian coalition of the Swiss and the Lorrainers. In the war against this coalition (1474-77) the forces of Charles the Bold were defeated and he himself was killed in a battle outside Nancy (1477). His domain was then divided between Louis XI and the son of the German Emperor Maximilian of Hapsburg. p. 94

⁷² *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt* (*Socio-Political Central Gazette*) — German social-democratic weekly, appearing under this title in Berlin from 1892 to 1895 with H. Braun as its publisher. From 1895 it merged with *Blätter für soziale Praxis* (*Social Practice Papers*) into the journal *Soziale Praxis* (*Social Practice*). p. 96

⁷³ This letter was first published without any mention of the addressee in the journal *Der sozialistische Akademiker* (*The Socialist Academician*), No. 20, 1895, by its contributor H. Starkenburg. As a result, Starkenburg was wrongly identified as the addressee in previous editions. p. 100

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1850s opposed interference by Bonapartist France in the national liberation struggle waged by the Italian people; in 1864, when the First International was founded, he tried to subordinate it to his influence; in 1871, he attacked the Paris Commune and the International, hindered the development of an independent working-class movement in Italy — 47

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Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1809-65) — French publicist, vulgar economist and sociologist, ideologist of petty-bourgeoisie, a founder of anarchism, deputy (1848) to Constituent Assembly — 1-16, 24, 31, 47

Pyat, Félix (1810-89) — French publicist, playwright and politician, petty-bourgeois dem-

ocrat; took part in the 1848 Revolution, in 1849 emigrated to Switzerland, Belgium and Britain; opposed independent working-class movement; for a number of years carried on a slander campaign against Marx and the First International, using for this end the French section of the International in London; deputy (1871) to French National Assembly, member of Paris Commune, after its defeat, emigrated to Britain, returned to France after the general amnesty in 1880, between September and November published *La Commune* — 19

R

Ricardo, David (1772-1823) — English economist, a great representative of classic bourgeois political economy — 34

Richard, Albert (1846-1925) — French journalist, one of the leaders of Lyons section of the International, member of the Social Democratic Alliance, participated in the 1870 Lyons uprising, after the Commune was suppressed became a Bonapartist; in the 1880s a follower of opportunism in French socialist movement — 51

Richard I (Lion-Heart) (1157-99) — King of England (1189-99) — 91

Robin, Paul (1837-1912) — French teacher, Bakuninist, one of the

leaders of the Social-Democratic Alliance after 1869; member of the General Council of the International (1870-71), delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871) of the International — 47
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712-78) — outstanding figure of the French Enlightenment, democrat, ideologist of petty bourgeoisie, deistic philosopher — 91

S

Saint-Simon, Henri (1760-1825) — great French utopian socialist — 42

Schapper, Karl (1812-70) — prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Committee of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; member of Rhine Committee of Democrats, one of the accused in the trial of the Committee (February 8, 1849); President of Cologne Workers' Association (February-May 1849); in 1850 headed adventurist sectarian faction during the split in the Communist League; after 1856 again became close associate of Marx; member of the General Council of the First International — 20

Scherzer, Andreas (1807-79) — German tailor, member of one of the Paris branches

- which, after the split of the Communist League, joined adventurist faction of sectarians led by Willich and Schapper; a defendant in the case of the so-called Franco-German conspiracy in Paris in February 1852; later emigrated to Britain; one of the leaders of German Workers' Educational Society in London; publisher of *Die Neue Zeit* (*New Times*) and contributor to *Das Volk* (*The People*) — 19, 20
- Schmidt, Conrad* (1863-1932) — German economist and philosopher, at the beginning of his career adopted Marx's economic doctrine but subsequently joined bourgeois opponents of Marxism; author of works that served as a theoretical source of revisionism — 71, 79
- Scholl* — French worker, member of the Lyons section of the International, an émigré in London; in 1872, supported Bonapartist plans for restoring the empire — 51
- Schramm, Rudolf* (1813-82) — German publicist, petty-bourgeois democrat, member (1848) of the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly, emigrated to Britain after the revolution; opposed to Marx; in the 1860s, adherent of Bismarck; brother of Conrad Schramm — 24
- Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-83) — German politician and bourgeois vulgar economist; advocate of the unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony, one of the founders of the Prussian National Assembly Party; a leader of the Progressist Party in the 1860s; sought to divert the workers from the revolutionary struggle by organizing co-operative societies — 27
- Schweitzer, Johann Baptist* (1833-75) — one of Lassallean leaders in Germany; editor of *Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of General Association of German Workers (1867-71); gave support to Bismarck's policy of unification of Germany "from above" under Prussian hegemony; prevented German workers' affiliation to the First International, fought against Social-Democratic Labour Party; expelled from the Association in 1872 after his connections with Prussian authorities were exposed — 24, 27, 41, 48, 61
- Smith, Adam* (1723-90) — British economist, one of the great representatives of bourgeois classic political economy — 91
- Soetbeer, Georg Adolf* (1814-92) — German bourgeois economist and statistician — 80
- Solon* (c. 638-c. 558 B.C.) — famous Athenian legislator who, under the pressure from the people, formulated a number of laws

directed against the aristocracy

— 99

Sorge, Friedrich Adolph (1828-1906) — prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, participant in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; in 1852 emigrated to the U.S. where he later organized American sections of the First International; deputy to Hague Congress (1872), Secretary General of the General Council in New York (1872-74), one of the founders of the Socialist Labour Party of North America (1876); active propagator of Marxism; friend and comrade-in-arms of Marx and Engels — 58

Steffen, Wilhelm — former Prussian officer, witness for defence at Cologne Communist Trial (1852), in 1853 emigrated to Britain, then to the U.S.; in the 1850s closely associated with Marx and Engels — 20

Strousberg, Bethel Henry (1823-84) — big German railway entrepreneur; went bankrupt in 1873 — 65

Struve, Pyotr Bergardovich (1870-1944) — Russian bourgeois economist and publicist, a "legal Marxist," after 1905, member of the Constitutional-Democratic Party and later a White émigré — 96

T

Talandier, Pierre-Théodor Alfred (1822-90) — French petty-bourgeois democrat, journalist, took part in the Revolution in 1848; emigrated to London after coup d'état of 1851, a friend of A. I. Herzen, member (1864) of the General Council of the First International; member (1876-80, 1881-85) of French National Assembly — 19

Tbierry, Augustin (1795-1856) — French bourgeois historian of liberal views in the Restoration period, in his writings he tried to understand the role of material factors and class struggle in the history of the development of feudal society and the emergence of capitalist society — 102

Thiers, Louis-Adolphe (1797-1877) — French bourgeois historian and statesman, Orleanist, Minister of the Interior (1832 and 1834), Prime Minister (1836 and 1840), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies of the Second Republic; chief of the executive power (1871), President of the Republic (1871-73); hangman of the Paris Commune — 37, 51

Torricelli, Evangelista (1608-47) — outstanding Italian physicist and mathematician — 101

V

Vanderbilt Cornelius (1794-1877) — one of the biggest financiers

and industrial tycoons of the U.S. in his time — 81

Vinoy, Joseph (1800-80) — French general, Bonapartist, took part in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Governor-General of Paris after January 22, 1871; one of the executioners of the Paris Commune, commander of Versailles army — 36

W

Wachsmuth, Ernst Wilhelm Gottlieb (1784-1866) — German bourgeois historian, professor in Leipzig, author of a number of books about ancient Greece and Rome and the history of Europe — 92

Wagener, Hermann (1815-89) — German publicist and politician, thinker of bourgeoisified Prussian Junkerdom (landlords); editor of *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (*New Prussian Times*) (1848-54), one of the founders of the Prussian Conservative Party, official in Bismarck's Ministry of State (1866-73); supporter of the reactionary Prussian "state socialism" — 26

Weydemeyer, Joseph (1818-66) — prominent figure in the German and American working-class movements, a "true socialist" in 1846-47; later

turned, under the influence of Marx and Engels, to the stand of scientific communism and became a member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, one of the editors of *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (*New German Time*) (1849-50); after the defeat of the revolution, emigrated to the U.S. and fought in the Civil War there, on the Northern side; propagator of Marxism in the U.S.; friend and comrade-in-arms of Marx and Engels — 18

William I (1797-1888) — Prussian prince and Prince Regent (1858-61); King of Prussia (1861-88), Emperor of Germany (1871-88) — 25, 93

Willich, August (1810-78) — Prussian officer, who resigned on account of his political convictions; member of the Communist League, participated in the Baden-Palatinate insurrection (1849); a leader of sectarian-adventurist group during the split in the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the U.S. in 1853 and took part and on the Northern side in the Civil War — 20

Wirth, Moritz (1849-1916?) — German publicist — 71

马克思恩格斯书简

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外文出版社出版(北京)

1977年(32开)第一版

编号:(英)1050-2320

00050

1/1-E-1409P